

FELLOWSHIPS

A
Southerner
Learns About Race

by
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A SOUTHERNER LEARNS ABOUT RACE

BREWTON BERRY

LET no one call me radical. I was born and bred in the Deep South, of a long line of Colonial Dames, D.A.R.'s, U.D.C.'s, and unreconstructed rebels. At a very tender age I acquired strong prejudices against Republicans, New Englanders, and the tariff. Even earlier, though, I had learned the orthodox racial creed of the South and had mastered the complicated code of interracial etiquette. I knew which race was superior and which had been foreordained to hew the wood and draw the water. It was perfectly obvious to me that Negroes were naturally lazy, musical, and incompetent. I knew "instinctively" how to deal with them. I addressed them as "Auntie," "Mammy," and "Daddy," but never as "Mister," "Mistress," or "Miss." They cut my hair and rubbed on the tonic but did not shake my hand. They prepared my food and served it to me but never sat at a table with me. They called only at our back door and occupied the rear seats of the bus. They had their own churches and schools. To me this all seemed entirely rational and proper.

Habits thus acquired are not easily discarded. Even now it is only righteous indignation that makes me vote Republican; and when kind words about New England slip through my lips, I take secret pride in my magnanimity. Yes, and to this day I never pass a Sherman monument without thumbing my nose at it.

As for the interracial mores, I must confess that I am conventional—at least, ostensibly. I dance only with Nordics,

Alpines, Mediterraneans, and mixtures of these three. And I have no doubt that the man my daughter marries, whatever be his intellectual and moral qualifications, will have the acceptable amount of pigment in his epidermis.

My prejudices, however, do not lead to violence. Lynching I condemn; the persecution of Jews I deplore; and recent immigrants and their children, I know full well, are not one whit more iniquitous than the Founding Fathers. Ku Klux Klans, Coughlins, and Winrods get no support from me.

But I am no reformer. The role of the crusader has never won me over. I admire martyrs and am often tempted to envy them their bliss; but I doubt that I shall ever emulate them. When in Rome I try to do as the Romans; and I appreciate similar efforts on their part. This attitude I attribute to the study of anthropology, but the cause may be glandular. I don't know. Call me conservative, Tory, reactionary, or what you will. But not radical.

Creeds and etiquette, however, are quite different things. Toward the latter my policy is usually one of conformity, but toward the former I am disposed to be critical and rebellious. Before I had graduated from short pants I had played havoc with the Apostles' Creed, much to the consternation of aunts, uncles, and parents. My faith in the racial creed remained unshaken much longer, until college professors, books,

A SOUTHERNER LEARNS ABOUT RACE

and several years' residence abroad combined to make me skeptical. As a consequence, in place of the racial creed acquired in my youth, I now hold to a new one:

First, our popular orthodox ideas about race are no better than superstitions. They were born, not of cool, scientific thinking, but were smuggled into our heritage to justify exploitation, to protect privilege, to arouse nationalism, or to cover ignorance.

Second, there are no fundamental differences between the various races.

And third, there is no such thing as a race in the first place.

Allow me, by way of novelty, to discuss these points in reverse order.

First, then, races are fictions—the modern counterparts of witches, ghosts, and goblins—existing only in our minds, although we commonly treat them as though they were real, objective entities. But, you are probably saying, do we not see them with our eyes? Does not everyone know to which race he belongs? Well, so did our ancestors actually see witches and ghosts, and there were many who even confessed that they were witches. The five senses are by no means infallible.

This belief that races are real things is betrayed in the questions one frequently hears. How many races are there? To which race do the Polynesians belong? To which the Hindus? As well to ask, How many slices are there in a pie? Two, four, six; it all depends. Or this, On which shelf of a bookcase should one put *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*? The assignment of people to races, like the carving of a pie or the cataloging of books, is an arbitrary affair, depending on the whim of the carver, the criteria chosen, the purpose of the classification.

The fact of the matter is that no two people are exactly alike. We differ in a

great variety of ways. There are Republicans and Democrats; monogamists and polygamists; theists, atheists, and agnostics; liberals, radicals, and conservatives; idiots and geniuses. We are tall, short, fat, and skinny. Some are musical, some not. Noses are straight, concave, convex, and sinuous. Some have thick lips, some thin. Some have a good deal of pigment in the skin, others less.

Now some of these differences are obviously hereditary, others acquired, and many hard to determine. Also, some of them seem important, while others are incidental. Except for our prejudices, we should probably agree that such things as intelligence, health, and temperament are important differences, but that it matters not whether the nose is straight or aquiline, whether the hair is curly or wavy. But suppose the hair is kinky? Suppose the nose is broad and flat? Very important indeed, as far as the status of the individual is concerned; more important even than intelligence and temperament. Quite so; but only because we have arbitrarily attached social significance to these biological trivia.

The word race involves some of these differences. But not all of them. At least, it shouldn't. Yet we commonly hear almost any kind of group designated a race. There is the Anglo-Saxon race, the Slavic race, the French, the Latin, the Aryan, the Jewish, Irish, Gypsy, and Teutonic. Now these names represent quite different kinds of aggregates of people; but the elusive word race, which means almost anything, fits them all. Thus, in popular use, the word seems to refer to a group of people having anything at all in common, hereditary or acquired, biological or social. And a word that becomes so promiscuous needs to be punished—perhaps even ostracized.

If we keep it, however—and we probably shall—we should restrict its use to

COMMON GROUND

large groups of people who have in common, more or less, certain hereditary, non-adaptive, physical features. That would rule out as criteria of race such things as language, religion, politics, and nationality. But what about height, weight, baldness, and epilepsy? We had better rule them out too; for, although they are somewhat hereditary, they would give us too much trouble and we have troubles enough as it is. That leaves as criteria such things as head-form, the eyes, the shape of the nose, the color of the skin, the thickness of the lips, the type of hair.

Now if Nature had not jumbled our precious criteria, the problem of constructing racial pigeon-holes would not be so difficult. But Nature is impish, and she has accordingly put curly hair on the chocolate-skinned Australian, wavy hair on the black Veddha, and abundant hair on the slant-eyed Ainu. She has blessed the Nordic with the accolade of dolichocephaly, and then, Puck-like, turned around and given it to the Negro.

But that is only half of the story. What about the value of these criteria? Which is most important? Which next? If one is to classify anything, one must be consistent and not flit from one criterion to another. That is easier said than done, when one is dealing with races. Which is most important? Skin color, hair, the nose, or the skull? To be perfectly honest about it, none of them is important. They are all secondary. But we must decide which of these empty things is least empty. We must arrange them in some order—empty, emptier, emptiest.

That is precisely what the scientists have never been able to do; and for that reason hardly two of them agree as to the number and composition of the races. Thus one scholar makes an elaborate classification of twenty-nine races; another tells us there are six; Huxley gives us four; Kroeber, three; Goldenweiser, five; and

Boas inclines to two, while his colleague, Linton, says there are twelve or fifteen. Even my dullest students sometimes note this apparent contradiction.

There is no such thing as a race. Perhaps I should now qualify that sweeping statement. I wish, just for a moment, that I could speak the language of philosophy. What I want to say is that races are not the kind of things that people think they are. They are not entities, but arbitrary, man-made categories. In matters of metaphysics I confess I am naive. In my innocence I take it that some things, such as the Empire State Building, are very, very real; that the Democratic Party and the Methodist Church are also real, although there is a difference; but that such things as introverts, liberals, extroverts, and morons are subjective, descriptive categories. We have constructed these pigeon-holes to suit our purposes. Races belong to this last type of reality. We have made them ourselves, for one reason or another; and in the making of them we have used the convenient but inconsequential fact that people have different kinds of hair, eyes, and complexions.

The second article of my faith is that there are no important differences between these arbitrary groups that we call races; that is, no innate differences in intelligence, temperament, physiology, artistic abilities, and the like.

Popular opinion, of course, holds that races and nationalities do by nature differ greatly. Englishmen are taciturn, Negroes musical, Italians volatile, Russians phlegmatic, Chinese passive, Hindus mystical, Jews aggressive, Indians stolid, and Irishmen witty.

Most of these impressionistic characterizations can be dismissed as so much piffle. When one comes to know the members of another race, group, or nation, one realizes the inadequacy of such generaliza-

A SOUTHERNER LEARNS ABOUT RACE

tions. I used to believe that Scotchmen were rough, jolly, and thrifty—a nation of Harry Lauders. But after living among them for a while, I am at a loss to find any adjective that is applicable. My Scottish acquaintances run the whole gamut of personality types—from toppers to teetotalers, from prigs to profligates, from sapheads to scholars. Such truth as there is in these broad characterizations of people can be adequately explained in terms of their culture, without resorting to such myths as “the national mind” or “the soul qualities of the race.”

In this scientific age we insist that our prejudices be fortified with facts and figures, and we have accordingly produced a mass of data to prove we are the chosen people. The arguments usually run along these lines: (1) some races have larger brains than others; (2) some produce more geniuses than others; (3) history and cultural achievements prove the superiority of certain races; and (4) intelligence tests clinch the debate for our side.

Now if these arguments are valid, they prove also that men are superior to women. Their brains are larger, they have given us more geniuses, and historically they have achieved more. As much as I should like, however, to believe that the male is God's chosen sex, I must confess that these reasons leave me unconvinced. About all they prove is that the men have written more books.

In the matter of race, then, bear in mind that we have made the tests, using the paraphernalia of our culture; we have decided who the geniuses are; and we have set up the criteria for judging backwardness and progressiveness, invariably choosing those things in which we excel. Not only that, but we have insisted that the decision be made at this very moment, when we seem to be in the lead. Now in poker, if one persists in stacking the cards and quitting the game when he is in the

lead, he deserves to be shot. In debate should the standards of sportsmanship be lower?

Anyone familiar with history knows that culture has a way of arising, accumulating, and spreading over the world with a complete and serene indifference to such matters as skin color and nose width. Our own civilization is a patchwork of elements gathered from every corner of the earth and handed down from the remote past. Most of us are only passive carriers of the culture we have inherited; it is the rare individual who makes any contribution to the social heritage. It is as absurd, therefore, for Americans or Englishmen or Caucasians to use their culture as evidence for their superiority as for Barbara Hutton to insist that the size of her bank roll proves her a financial genius.

The third doctrine of my creed concerns the *function* of our racial superstition, which, I maintain, is chiefly masquerade, camouflage, and rationalization.

One must admit, however, that fiction though it be, it has done its job well. Hitler himself has said, “I know perfectly well—just as well as these tremendously clever intellectuals—that there is no such thing as race. But I, as a politician, need a conception which enables the order which has hitherto existed to be abolished; and for this purpose the conception of race serves me well.” And Mussolini, echoing these sentiments, said, “Race is a feeling, not a reality; ninety-five per cent, at least, is a feeling.”

A glance at the history of the word “race” will throw some light upon its function. Its actual origin is disputed by etymologists; but it did enter the western European languages late, coming into the English from the French in the 16th century, and into the German in the 18th. Originally the word was used to denote the descendants of a single person as, for

COMMON GROUND

example, the race of Abraham. In short, race was a word associated with the institution of the family. Now the family is one of man's oldest institutions, and a great deal of sentiment and loyalty has grown up around it. Nations, on the contrary, are very recent, not so firmly planted in our social heritage. The racial myth accordingly represents the effort to transfer to the nation the feeling and loyalty long associated with the family.

Human groups are not like herds of cattle or flocks of birds, which are held together by their gregarious instinct. People must be united by more subtle bonds—common language, a common body of traditions, symbols such as flags and kings, and perhaps best of all a common enemy. With all of these, however, it is no easy task to mold a mass of human beings into a single body. Small wonder, then, that the race myth—the superstition that a great nation of people is really one big family, with a common ancestor, with the same blood in their veins—small wonder that such an idea, coming just at the time when nationalism was arising, should be taken up so eagerly.

Not only did the race fiction fit beautifully into the budding nationalism of the period, but it was equally useful in another connection. Europeans, at the time, were going abroad conquering native peoples, robbing, slaughtering, and enslaving them. They were not satisfied merely to accept their dominance as a fact and let it go at that. From the very first they sought to rationalize and justify their conduct. Thus the Spanish had their apologists, who conveniently discovered that the Indians were really not human beings at all, but were another "race," descended from some pair other than Adam and Eve. There were other good "reasons" for enslavement, too—theological, Biblical, and pseudo-scientific. And these spread rapidly from one European nation to another, for some-

thing was desperately needed to soothe the white man's conscience.

Race has been a useful tool, not only in bolstering nationalism and in justifying our sins, but in covering our ignorance as well. Note how often in music, art, and literature, when one is at a loss to account for some strange effect, the vague myth of race is resorted to. A biographer, for example, concludes that President Roosevelt's stubbornness is due to the Dutch blood in his veins; a critic informs us that the peculiar qualities of Tchaikovsky's music are the manifestations of his Russian race; and a military expert explains the bombing of Honolulu as a consequence of the "strong strain of Malay blood in the Japanese race." And thus the authorities would have us credit them with keen biological insight.

Indeed, no other character in fiction has played so many roles, and with such perfection.

It has not been my purpose here to criticize, or to overthrow, our social structure. As a sociologist, I realize how deep-rooted are the institutions and mores of a people, and how difficult it is to try to alter them. I know, too, the futility of simple and sentimental panaceas.

The answer I do not know. I even doubt such problems have "solutions," as problems do in mathematics.

We do not "solve" racial problems—we move in directions. And there are only two alternatives. One leads to persecution, hatred, and bestiality. The other is the one I believe we Americans have slowly but hesitantly trod—the path of acceptance, co-operation, and democracy.

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THE MESTIZOS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

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THE MESTIZOS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

BREWTON BERRY

ABSTRACT

There are several communities of white-Indian-Negro hybrids in South Carolina, the members of which do not fit into the biracial caste system upon which the state's whole social structure is built. Similar groups are found in other states. Some of these are amalgamating with the Negroes, while others have won an intermediate status as "Indians." Those in South Carolina have resisted both of these accommodations and have persistently fought for white status. Their present position in etiquette and in local institutions, such as churches and schools, is a particular one, being the status of neither Negroes nor whites.

There are in South Carolina today fully five thousand people—perhaps even ten thousand—who do not fit into the biracial caste system upon which the state's whole social structure is built. These outcastes insist that they are white, and they claim the privileges and courtesies of white people. Some of them, if pressed, will not deny a strain of Indian, though they take no pride in the fact; and most of them are offended even at that suggestion. The dominant whites, on the other hand, are convinced that there is a trace of Negro blood in them and, on the theory that "one drop of Negro blood makes one a Negro," are reluctant to accept them and regard their claim to white status with various and mixed emotions, ranging from amusement to horror.

This failure of a sizable group of people to fit into the social system creates many problems. It is, in fact, a threat to the whole structure, undermining the popular faith that the system functions adequately and will continue to function forever. "We simply cannot admit them to the white schools," confessed one trustee, "because, if we did, pretty soon the Negroes would want to come in, and then where would we be?" The same question arises with respect to churches, hospitals, political parties, parks, playgrounds, moving pictures, hotels, restaurants, clubs, and cemeteries. These in-

stitutions, in all of which rigid racial segregation is the rule, are operated upon the assumption that every person is either white or black and that there are absolute criteria to determine in which group one belongs. It is so with regard to the etiquette of race relations. "I wish you would tell me what these Brass Ankles are," said a bank teller, "so I would know whether to 'mister' them or not." Most disturbing of all is the threat to the assumed purity of the white race; for if these doubtful ones are being absorbed without dire consequences, as seems to be the case, what is to prevent an inundation of Negro blood?

These outcastes, whom I call "mestizos," are designated by a wide variety of names, none of them flattering. In Richland County they are known as "Red Bones." In one section of Orangeburg County they are "Red Legs"; in another, "Brass Ankles." The degrading name "Brass Ankle" is also commonly used in Dorchester, Colleton, Berkeley, and Charleston counties. In Sumter they are called "Turks"; in Bamberg, "Buckheads"; while in Marlboro, Dillon, Marion, and Horry they are "Croatsans," a name that is sometimes shortened to the even more unflattering "Cro." In Chesterfield they are known as "Marlboro Blues," a slur on the adjoining county, whence they came. In some localities

they are given the most common surname in the group and are called "Creels," "Chavises," "Goins," or "Bones," the last being an impudent corruption of the family name Boone. Elsewhere they are called "Greeks," "Portuguese," "Clay-eaters," "Yellow Hammers," "Summerville Indians," or simply "these yellow people." These names have at least one thing in common: they are roundly despised by the mestizos themselves and are never used in their presence by anyone who understands their feelings—and by others only once.

The origin of these names, as of the people themselves, is lost in the obscure past. There are, however, innumerable stories which purport to solve the mystery and which are believed and recounted as solid fact by many South Carolinians, both white and Negro. Most romantic and widespread is the legend that they are descended from Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony and the Croatan Indians who befriended them, plus a subsequent admixture of Negro blood. Each locality, however, has its own mythology. The so-called "Turks," of Sumter County, are said to be descendants of laborers imported from Turkey by General Thomas Sumter, or of Turkish pirates stranded on the Carolina coast, or of refugees who escaped from their pirate captors. The legends are numerous and never convincing. The mestizos themselves are far more concerned with the present and future than with the past; but their position was best expressed in an unusually frank admission which one of them made to me: "Tell you the truth, we don't know what we is. But we know we ain't niggers; we know that."

The probability is that the mestizos stem from the thirty-odd small, independent Indian tribes which originally

inhabited the coastal region of South Carolina. These tribes were not exterminated, as was hoped and believed, but, stripped of their Indian culture and tribal consciousness, survived in the isolation of river swamps and pine barrens. From the earliest historical times they began to receive into their veins the blood of white traders and adventurers; and this process of "bleaching" has continued to the present time, with the result that Caucasoid features predominate. Runaway slaves and free Negroes, too, probably contributed to the mixture of blood found in the mestizos; but that was long ago, for at the present time mestizos have few contacts with Negroes. When the first census was taken in 1790, one of the categories into which names were placed was headed "All Other Free Persons." Prominent in this category are the surnames Driggers, Russell, Braveboy, Swett, Scott, Shavis, Williams, Bunch, and Harmon. To this day these are the most common mestizo surnames; and the districts from which they were reported in 1790 are still the sections in which mestizos bearing those names are living.

There are no infallible criteria for identifying a mestizo. Physical features, unfortunately, help but little—are, in fact, deceiving. Mestizos are anything but homogeneous. Not a few of them have fairer features than most white people, while many of them are more Negroid in appearance than many mulattoes. In skin color they range from fair to dark brown. They are found with every type of hair—kinky, frizzly, wavy, and straight; black, brown, and flaxen. A frizzly type is not uncommon; but most of them have black, coarse hair, straight or slightly wavy. Some of them are taken for Negroes wherever they go, while others have confessed to me that they have no trouble at all in passing as white

—except in the immediate community where they are known. A city school superintendent, who had the task of keeping them out of the white schools, said:

You can't tell a Brass Ankle by looking at him. Around here most of them look just like white people. We have to go by their names mostly. If anybody has the name Russell, Williams, Driggers, or Bunch, we can be pretty sure they don't belong in this school. . . . I have a teacher who has lived in this community all her life, and she knows everybody. When I'm in doubt, I rely on her judgment.

A member of a small-town Baptist church had this to say:

Once we were calling a new preacher. We had about decided on a fellow named Reverend Swett. When the congregation was voting on him, one lady got up and said, "What did you say his name was? And where is he from?" When they told her, she said, "Well, I come from the county myself, and I know that anybody over there by the name of Swett is a Brass Ankle." So we didn't elect him; but he got a fine church in another town not far from here. . . . He sure didn't look like a Brass Ankle to me, though.

Surnames, birthplace, and the persons with whom one associates are the principal criteria for identifying a mestizo in South Carolina, although skin color is of some importance, and other Negroid features, such as hair form and width of nose, do not pass unnoticed.

South Carolina is not alone in having an outcaste element of this type. Delaware has its Moors and Nantichokes;¹ North Carolina, its Indians of Robeson County;² Alabama, its Creoles and Ca-

¹ C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

² Guy B. Johnson, "Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community," *American Sociological Review*, IV, 516-23.

juns;³ Tennessee, its Melungeons;⁴ and similar peoples are found in many other states, chiefly along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.⁵ Several of these groups have succeeded in winning for themselves a status as "Indians";⁶ and while that is less desirable than white status, it is not so objectionable to them as relegation to the Negro caste. These even come to speak of themselves as Indians, perhaps even to think of themselves as such; and a few with whom I have talked seem to take a genuine pride in the thought. Other communities of this type have undergone or are undergoing a process of disintegration, are intermarrying with Negroes, and are accepting Negro teachers for their schools, with the ultimate result that they will be merged with the Negro race.⁷

The situation is different in South Carolina. There the mestizos have steadfastly resisted all efforts to relegate them to the Negro caste, though there are a few individual exceptions here and there. At the same time they have never succumbed to the temptation to seek an intermediate status as "Indians"—a solution of the problem which the whites would gladly accept. Instead, they have persistently fought for white status, and their efforts have met with a surprising degree of success.

³ H. M. Bond, "Two Racial Islands in Alabama," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, 552 ff.

⁴ Paul D. Converse, "Melungeons," *Dictionary of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), III, 371.

⁵ Laurence Foster, *Negro-Indian Relationships in the Southeast* (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1935), pp. 13-18.

⁶ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 518; Weslager, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-111.

⁷ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 215-45.

In its attitudes and mores with respect to mestizos, South Carolina does not display any uniformity or consistency. In a few communities they are accorded a relatively high status, are admitted to the white section of moving-picture houses, send their children to white schools, are not excluded from white churches, and often intermarry with white families of the lowest class. Even so, all these privileges are grudgingly given, and certain ones are entirely withheld. In other communities they are carefully excluded from white schools, churches, and restaurants; they are not given titles of respect; and they must occupy the Negro section of the theaters (with the result that they never attend). But even in communities of this latter type, where their status is barely above that of the Negro, it is, nevertheless, above it. They will be found sitting in the white waiting-rooms at bus stations, occupying the front seats of the busses; and the gestures, expressions, and intonations which whites customarily use in their relations with Negroes are avoided in contacts with mestizos. In their attitudes and policies toward mestizos most communities in the state fall somewhere between these two extremes.

Those Negroes who have had any contacts at all with mestizos seem to hold a very realistic view of the situation. They appreciate their anomalous position, their aspirations, and the rebuffs with which their efforts are met; and they agree almost unanimously on the three racial strains that enter into their makeup. One aged and illiterate Negro woman, when I professed to be ignorant of the situation, explained: "Brass Ankles ain't niggers an' dey ain't straight w'ite," and then elaborated upon that succinct definition. Another, rolling back her sleeve, said, "See here, I is black; and you is

w'ite; but dese Brass Ankles, dey is yaller nuttin." A college-bred Negro man said:

I feel sorry for the Brass Ankles. They don't know where they fit in, nor how far they can go. It's not so with me. I know, for instance, when to get on a bus, and where to sit, once I get on. But these Brass Ankles never can be sure about anything.

The whites, however, have never crystallized their attitudes or formed any clear stereotype of the mestizo. It is otherwise, of course, with respect to the Negro, about whom white people have definite and positive beliefs, inaccurate though they be. As a matter of fact, most South Carolina whites, are unaware even of the existence of such an element in the population. The mestizos are concentrated in the Low Country; and few in the more populous Up Country have ever heard of them. Mestizos are virtually never the subject of conversation in white society; they are not mentioned in newspapers and histories; and they receive scant notice in the state's guidebook.⁸ They have been honestly portrayed in one novel;⁹ but I found this volume in not a single library that I visited in the state, and I encountered only two South Carolinians who had ever read it or heard of it. Many more are familiar with another treatment of the mestizo,¹⁰ which employs the popular superstition that a trace of Negro blood, however small or remote, may clearly manifest itself in one's offspring. Accordingly, even in those counties where the mestizo element is present, there are white people who know virtually nothing

⁸ *South Carolina: A Guide to the Palmetto State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 22, 286, 312, and 464.

⁹ Gertrude M. Shelby and Samuel G. Stoney, *Po' Buckra* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930).

¹⁰ DuBose Heyward, *Brass Ankle* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1931).

about them. "We don't have any people like that in this county," I was occasionally told by some old resident; and I would thereupon surprise him by telling him that his county supported one, two, or three "special" schools for children of that type.

Even among those whites who have contacts with the mestizos, employing them on their farms or selling them merchandise and services, there is wide diversity in attitudes. There is not even agreement upon their racial composition. Ninety per cent of the white people with whom I talked believe that mestizos have some Negro blood; but the other 10 per cent consider them white and Indian, or Indian and Spanish, or white and Turkish, or some other non-Negro mixture. Of the 90 per cent, there are many who insist that mestizos are "nothing but mulattoes"—white and Negro hybrids—who obstinately refuse to accept the fact; but the great majority believe they are Indian, white, and Negro.

As to their personal characteristics, my white informants were far from agreed. Some described them as scrupulously neat and clean; others, as filthy and untidy. Some commended their energy and industry; others bemoaned their laziness and improvidence. Some reported them honest and reliable; others declared they were dishonest and undependable. Almost invariably their undesirable habits were explained as the result of their Indian or Negro blood, and their virtues attributed to their white ancestry. There was well-nigh complete agreement among my informants, however, that mestizos are hypersensitive, shy, furtive, self-conscious, hypercritical; and those who were familiar with the expression "inferiority complex" would invariably make use of it. These personal traits were commonly interpreted as

a result of Indian blood or as evidence of the evil consequences of racial mixture.

In view of such confusion and diversity in the attitudes and mores, generalizations about the mestizos of South Carolina must be made cautiously. Their present status, to be sure, is somewhere between that of the whites and that of the Negro, depending upon the local community. One other thing seems clear—they are gradually being assimilated and amalgamated into the white race. Rare, indeed, are the instances of their intermarrying with Negroes and identifying themselves with the Negro race, though such instances do occur. By no means rare are instances of their marrying whites and of their winning one concession after another from the whites. Moreover, the process whereby this transition is taking place is somewhat unique. It cannot be precisely described as "passing," as Stonequist uses the term; nor is it properly one of assimilation.¹¹ The process is conscious and deliberate, as with others who adopt the "passing" adjustment; but it is usually open rather than secret, makes little use of subterfuge, and apparently is not fraught with mental conflicts. The mestizo, when he wins some white privilege, is convinced that he is obtaining only what he justly deserves.

The complexities of the problem, as well as the current trends, may be illustrated by reference to the situation in the public schools. Racial segregation in the schools is prescribed by the constitution, stipulated by law, and firmly planted in the mores. What happens, then, to children who are neither black nor white?

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The problem of obtaining teachers for these "special" schools is a major one. A Negro, of course, would be unacceptable, regardless of his qualifications. White teachers are usually unwilling to take a position in schools of this type; in fact, instances are numerous where white teachers have been appointed but, upon arriving on the spot and learning the situation, have refused to serve or have remained only a week or two. The mores do not look with favor upon a white person's teaching in a mestizo school. In one community I was told: "The people

around here wouldn't stand for no white woman teachin' them half-niggers." Elsewhere the opposition is less severe; and in several districts women of the highest social status have been secured as teachers, partly from economic necessity and partly by appeals to altruistic motives. Mestizo teachers are sometimes employed; but few of these are available, for those who have received sufficient education to qualify choose to go elsewhere, where they will be accepted as whites. The result is that most of the teachers of the mestizo schools are poorly trained and incompetent white persons. Many of them, in fact, cannot qualify for teacher's certificates and must be issued "temporary" permits, year after year.

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More and more of them are coming to this school every year. But what can I do about it? They come here with birth certificates saying they are white, their fathers have hunting licenses showing them white, and they vote in the Democratic primaries. I try to persuade them to go to their own school, but when they refuse, what can I do? . . . Then some of the folks in this town will criticize me for letting niggers into the school. Often the ones who do the most criticizing are the very ones who are letting these people register and vote as white.

An elderly teacher in the white school of another community said: "I'm teaching children right now whose mothers and fathers would never have been allowed to enter the white schools."

Mestizos, then, are gradually invading the white schools. In fact, although I visited many white schools in the South Carolina Low Country, I found few, indeed, in which there were not some mestizo children. Teachers, principals, and superintendents are fully aware of the situation; and their attitudes covered a wide range, from bitter hostility to sympathetic tolerance. One superintendent had taken an active part in a movement to permit the graduates of the special mestizo school to attend the white high school in his district and had succeeded; on the other hand, I encountered one official who had won a reputation for ferreting out the tiniest trace of Negro blood in his pupils and dismissing the tainted ones.

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The schools exemplify the mestizo's situation in the whole society. In a few communities they are without a church, though usually they have their own separate churches; but they frequently present themselves for membership in white churches, and they are often accepted,

though occasionally denied membership on one subterfuge or another. In politics they are invariably Democrats and are permitted to cast their ballots in the lily-white primaries, and there are a few instances where they have run for office and been elected. In the hospitals they refuse to be assigned to Negro wards. A hospital manager said:

One night the ambulance brought one of those Brass Ankles in here, and we rolled him up to the Negro ward. He looked like a Negro to me. When he found out where he was, he yelled out, "Git me outa here; I'd ruther die out in front of this hospital than git well in here." So we put him in the white ward, but the patients there objected. So I had to put him in a private room. That's what I always do now—put 'em in a private room. If I don't have one, I put 'em in the hall and put a screen around 'em.

In most South Carolina towns mestizos are seated in the white sections of moving-picture theaters, and they invariably use the white waiting-rooms of bus lines and railways. They are considered white by the Selective Service; and where the races are segregated on county "honor rolls," mestizos are recorded among the whites. I have seen white people shake hands with them and address them as "mister" and "mistress"—gestures tantamount to bestowing the accolade of white status. Every probate judge can recount instances of marriages of whites and mestizos and will confess that on their records all mestizos are

white, though a few "leave the race blank." To marry a mestizo is, of course, a serious blow to one's status; but it is not nearly so serious as would be marriage to a Negro.

Many of these changes have come within the last fifteen or twenty years. Prior to that time most mestizos lived almost entirely to themselves in small, isolated racial "islands." Improvements in the means of communication have broken down this isolation; and several of the New Deal's programs, especially W.P.A. and F.S.A., have contributed to the process. As a result, these compact communities are disintegrating, their members are dispersing, most of them are much smaller than formerly, and a few have become almost extinct. The present war, too, is speeding up the assimilation in a variety of ways. There are countless persons in South Carolina, to say nothing of many others who have migrated elsewhere, who themselves have made the transition from mestizo to the white status or whose forebears, a generation or two back, succeeded in leaping the hurdle. "He goes as a white man," I was often told, "but he comes from that stock." One is not rash, therefore, who prophesies that a few more generations will see the disappearance of the mestizos. In South Carolina they are almost—but not quite—white.

RHODE ISLAND STATE COLLEGE

THE MESTIZOS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

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ABSTRACT

There are several communities of white-Indian-Negro hybrids in South Carolina, the members of which do not fit into the biracial caste system upon which the state's whole social structure is built. Similar groups are found in other states. Some of these are amalgamating with the Negroes, while others have won an intermediate status as "Indians." Those in South Carolina have resisted both of these accommodations and have persistently fought for white status. Their present position in etiquette and in local institutions, such as churches and schools, is a particular one, being the status of neither Negroes nor whites.

There are in South Carolina today fully five thousand people—perhaps even ten thousand—who do not fit into the biracial caste system upon which the state's whole social structure is built. These outcastes insist that they are white, and they claim the privileges and courtesies of white people. Some of them, if pressed, will not deny a strain of Indian, though they take no pride in the fact; and most of them are offended even at that suggestion. The dominant whites, on the other hand, are convinced that there is a trace of Negro blood in them and, on the theory that "one drop of Negro blood makes one a Negro," are reluctant to accept them and regard their claim to white status with various and mixed emotions, ranging from amusement to horror.

This failure of a sizable group of people to fit into the social system creates many problems. It is, in fact, a threat to the whole structure, undermining the popular faith that the system functions adequately and will continue to function forever. "We simply cannot admit them to the white schools," confessed one trustee, "because, if we did, pretty soon the Negroes would want to come in, and then where would we be?" The same question arises with respect to churches, hospitals, political parties, parks, playgrounds, moving pictures, hotels, restaurants, clubs, and cemeteries. These in-

stitutions, in all of which rigid racial segregation is the rule, are operated upon the assumption that every person is either white or black and that there are absolute criteria to determine in which group one belongs. It is so with regard to the etiquette of race relations. "I wish you would tell me what these Brass Ankles are," said a bank teller, "so I would know whether to 'mister' them or not." Most disturbing of all is the threat to the assumed purity of the white race; for if these doubtful ones are being absorbed without dire consequences, as seems to be the case, what is to prevent an inundation of Negro blood?

These outcastes, whom I call "mestizos," are designated by a wide variety of names, none of them flattering. In Richland County they are known as "Red Bones." In one section of Orangeburg County they are "Red Legs"; in another, "Brass Ankles." The degrading name "Brass Ankle" is also commonly used in Dorchester, Colleton, Berkeley, and Charleston counties. In Sumter they are called "Turks"; in Bamberg, "Buckheads"; while in Marlboro, Dillon, Marion, and Horry they are "Croatsans," a name that is sometimes shortened to the even more unflattering "Cro." In Chesterfield they are known as "Marlboro Blues," a slur on the adjoining county, whence they came. In some localities

they are given the most common surname in the group and are called "Creels," "Chavises," "Goins," or "Bones," the last being an impudent corruption of the family name Boone. Elsewhere they are called "Greeks," "Portuguese," "Clay-eaters," "Yellow Hammers," "Summerville Indians," or simply "these yellow people." These names have at least one thing in common: they are roundly despised by the mestizos themselves and are never used in their presence by anyone who understands their feelings—and by others only once.

The origin of these names, as of the people themselves, is lost in the obscure past. There are, however, innumerable stories which purport to solve the mystery and which are believed and recounted as solid fact by many South Carolinians, both white and Negro. Most romantic and widespread is the legend that they are descended from Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony and the Croatan Indians who befriended them, plus a subsequent admixture of Negro blood. Each locality, however, has its own mythology. The so-called "Turks," of Sumter County, are said to be descendants of laborers imported from Turkey by General Thomas Sumter, or of Turkish pirates stranded on the Carolina coast, or of refugees who escaped from their pirate captors. The legends are numerous and never convincing. The mestizos themselves are far more concerned with the present and future than with the past; but their position was best expressed in an unusually frank admission which one of them made to me: "Tell you the truth, we don't know what we is. But we know we ain't niggers; we know that."

The probability is that the mestizos stem from the thirty-odd small, independent Indian tribes which originally

inhabited the coastal region of South Carolina. These tribes were not exterminated, as was hoped and believed, but, stripped of their Indian culture and tribal consciousness, survived in the isolation of river swamps and pine barrens. From the earliest historical times they began to receive into their veins the blood of white traders and adventurers; and this process of "bleaching" has continued to the present time, with the result that Caucasoid features predominate. Runaway slaves and free Negroes, too, probably contributed to the mixture of blood found in the mestizos; but that was long ago, for at the present time mestizos have few contacts with Negroes. When the first census was taken in 1790, one of the categories into which names were placed was headed "All Other Free Persons." Prominent in this category are the surnames Driggers, Russell, Braveboy, Swett, Scott, Shavis, Williams, Bunch, and Harmon. To this day these are the most common mestizo surnames; and the districts from which they were reported in 1790 are still the sections in which mestizos bearing those names are living.

There are no infallible criteria for identifying a mestizo. Physical features, unfortunately, help but little—are, in fact, deceiving. Mestizos are anything but homogeneous. Not a few of them have fairer features than most white people, while many of them are more Negroid in appearance than many mulattoes. In skin color they range from fair to dark brown. They are found with every type of hair—kinky, frizzly, wavy, and straight; black, brown, and flaxen. A frizzly type is not uncommon; but most of them have black, coarse hair, straight or slightly wavy. Some of them are taken for Negroes wherever they go, while others have confessed to me that they have no trouble at all in passing as white

—except in the immediate community where they are known. A city school superintendent, who had the task of keeping them out of the white schools, said:

You can't tell a Brass Ankle by looking at him. Around here most of them look just like white people. We have to go by their names mostly. If anybody has the name Russell, Williams, Driggers, or Bunch, we can be pretty sure they don't belong in this school. . . . I have a teacher who has lived in this community all her life, and she knows everybody. When I'm in doubt, I rely on her judgment.

A member of a small-town Baptist church had this to say:

Once we were calling a new preacher. We had about decided on a fellow named Reverend Swett. When the congregation was voting on him, one lady got up and said, "What did you say his name was? And where is he from?" When they told her, she said, "Well, I come from the county myself, and I know that anybody over there by the name of Swett is a Brass Ankle." So we didn't elect him; but he got a fine church in another town not far from here. . . . He sure didn't look like a Brass Ankle to me, though.

Surnames, birthplace, and the persons with whom one associates are the principal criteria for identifying a mestizo in South Carolina, although skin color is of some importance, and other Negroid features, such as hair form and width of nose, do not pass unnoticed.

South Carolina is not alone in having an outcaste element of this type. Delaware has its Moors and Nantichokes;¹ North Carolina, its Indians of Robeson County;² Alabama, its Creoles and Ca-

juns;³ Tennessee, its Melungeons;⁴ and similar peoples are found in many other states, chiefly along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.⁵ Several of these groups have succeeded in winning for themselves a status as "Indians";⁶ and while that is less desirable than white status, it is not so objectionable to them as relegation to the Negro caste. These even come to speak of themselves as Indians, perhaps even to think of themselves as such; and a few with whom I have talked seem to take a genuine pride in the thought. Other communities of this type have undergone or are undergoing a process of disintegration, are intermarrying with Negroes, and are accepting Negro teachers for their schools, with the ultimate result that they will be merged with the Negro race.⁷

The situation is different in South Carolina. There the mestizos have steadfastly resisted all efforts to relegate them to the Negro caste, though there are a few individual exceptions here and there. At the same time they have never succumbed to the temptation to seek an intermediate status as "Indians"—a solution of the problem which the whites would gladly accept. Instead, they have persistently fought for white status, and their efforts have met with a surprising degree of success.

³ H. M. Bond, "Two Racial Islands in Alabama," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, 552 ff.

⁴ Paul D. Converse, "Melungeons," *Dictionary of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), III, 371.

⁵ Laurence Foster, *Negro-Indian Relationships in the Southeast* (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1935), pp. 13-18.

⁶ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 518; Weslager, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-111.

⁷ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 215-45.

¹ C. A. Weslager, *Delaware's Forgotten Folk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

² Guy B. Johnson, "Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community," *American Sociological Review*, IV, 516-23.

In its attitudes and mores with respect to mestizos, South Carolina does not display any uniformity or consistency. In a few communities they are accorded a relatively high status, are admitted to the white section of moving-picture houses, send their children to white schools, are not excluded from white churches, and often intermarry with white families of the lowest class. Even so, all these privileges are grudgingly given, and certain ones are entirely withheld. In other communities they are carefully excluded from white schools, churches, and restaurants; they are not given titles of respect; and they must occupy the Negro section of the theaters (with the result that they never attend). But even in communities of this latter type, where their status is barely above that of the Negro, it is, nevertheless, above it. They will be found sitting in the white waiting-rooms at bus stations, occupying the front seats of the busses; and the gestures, expressions, and intonations which whites customarily use in their relations with Negroes are avoided in contacts with mestizos. In their attitudes and policies toward mestizos most communities in the state fall somewhere between these two extremes.

Those Negroes who have had any contacts at all with mestizos seem to hold a very realistic view of the situation. They appreciate their anomalous position, their aspirations, and the rebuffs with which their efforts are met; and they agree almost unanimously on the three racial strains that enter into their makeup. One aged and illiterate Negro woman, when I professed to be ignorant of the situation, explained: "Brass Ankles ain't niggers an' dey ain't straight w'ite," and then elaborated upon that succinct definition. Another, rolling back her sleeve, said, "See here, I is black; and you is

w'ite; but dese Brass Ankles, dey is yaller nuttin." A college-bred Negro man said:

I feel sorry for the Brass Ankles. They don't know where they fit in, nor how far they can go. It's not so with me. I know, for instance, when to get on a bus, and where to sit, once I get on. But these Brass Ankles never can be sure about anything.

The whites, however, have never crystallized their attitudes or formed any clear stereotype of the mestizo. It is otherwise, of course, with respect to the Negro, about whom white people have definite and positive beliefs, inaccurate though they be. As a matter of fact, most South Carolina whites, are unaware even of the existence of such an element in the population. The mestizos are concentrated in the Low Country; and few in the more populous Up Country have ever heard of them. Mestizos are virtually never the subject of conversation in white society; they are not mentioned in newspapers and histories; and they receive scant notice in the state's guidebook.⁸ They have been honestly portrayed in one novel;⁹ but I found this volume in not a single library that I visited in the state, and I encountered only two South Carolinians who had ever read it or heard of it. Many more are familiar with another treatment of the mestizo,¹⁰ which employs the popular superstition that a trace of Negro blood, however small or remote, may clearly manifest itself in one's offspring. Accordingly, even in those counties where the mestizo element is present, there are white people who know virtually nothing

⁸ *South Carolina: A Guide to the Palmetto State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 22, 286, 312, and 464.

⁹ Gertrude M. Shelby and Samuel G. Stoney, *Po' Buckra* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930).

¹⁰ DuBose Heyward, *Brass Ankle* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1931).

about them. "We don't have any people like that in this county," I was occasionally told by some old resident; and I would thereupon surprise him by telling him that his county supported one, two, or three "special" schools for children of that type.

Even among those whites who have contacts with the mestizos, employing them on their farms or selling them merchandise and services, there is wide diversity in attitudes. There is not even agreement upon their racial composition. Ninety per cent of the white people with whom I talked believe that mestizos have some Negro blood; but the other 10 per cent consider them white and Indian, or Indian and Spanish, or white and Turkish, or some other non-Negro mixture. Of the 90 per cent, there are many who insist that mestizos are "nothing but mulattoes"—white and Negro hybrids—who obstinately refuse to accept the fact; but the great majority believe they are Indian, white, and Negro.

As to their personal characteristics, my white informants were far from agreed. Some described them as scrupulously neat and clean; others, as filthy and untidy. Some commended their energy and industry; others bemoaned their laziness and improvidence. Some reported them honest and reliable; others declared they were dishonest and undependable. Almost invariably their undesirable habits were explained as the result of their Indian or Negro blood, and their virtues attributed to their white ancestry. There was well-nigh complete agreement among my informants, however, that mestizos are hypersensitive, shy, furtive, self-conscious, hypercritical; and those who were familiar with the expression "inferiority complex" would invariably make use of it. These personal traits were commonly interpreted as

a result of Indian blood or as evidence of the evil consequences of racial mixture.

In view of such confusion and diversity in the attitudes and mores, generalizations about the mestizos of South Carolina must be made cautiously. Their present status, to be sure, is somewhere between that of the whites and that of the Negro, depending upon the local community. One other thing seems clear—they are gradually being assimilated and amalgamated into the white race. Rare, indeed, are the instances of their intermarrying with Negroes and identifying themselves with the Negro race, though such instances do occur. By no means rare are instances of their marrying whites and of their winning one concession after another from the whites. Moreover, the process whereby this transition is taking place is somewhat unique. It cannot be precisely described as "passing," as Stonequist uses the term; nor is it properly one of assimilation.¹¹ The process is conscious and deliberate, as with others who adopt the "passing" adjustment; but it is usually open rather than secret, makes little use of subterfuge, and apparently is not fraught with mental conflicts. The mestizo, when he wins some white privilege, is convinced that he is obtaining only what he justly deserves.

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Mestizos, then, are gradually invading the white schools. In fact, although I visited many white schools in the South Carolina Low Country, I found few, indeed, in which there were not some mestizo children. Teachers, principals, and superintendents are fully aware of the situation; and their attitudes covered a wide range, from bitter hostility to sympathetic tolerance. One superintendent had taken an active part in a movement to permit the graduates of the special mestizo school to attend the white high school in his district and had succeeded; on the other hand, I encountered one official who had won a reputation for ferreting out the tiniest trace of Negro blood in his pupils and dismissing the tainted ones.

Admittance of mestizos to the white schools, however, does not mean that they are accepted as equals. That is virtually never the case. There are a few white schools where mestizos participate in athletic and other functions and where occasionally one graduate becomes the valedictorian or wins a certain respect for scholastic achievements or personal charm; but in most instances they are isolated, ostracized, ignored, and excluded from all school activities. Their lot, therefore, in the white schools is a hard one; but they continue to come.

The schools exemplify the mestizo's situation in the whole society. In a few communities they are without a church, though usually they have their own separate churches; but they frequently present themselves for membership in white churches, and they are often accepted,

though occasionally denied membership on one subterfuge or another. In politics they are invariably Democrats and are permitted to cast their ballots in the lily-white primaries, and there are a few instances where they have run for office and been elected. In the hospitals they refuse to be assigned to Negro wards. A hospital manager said:

One night the ambulance brought one of those Brass Ankles in here, and we rolled him up to the Negro ward. He looked like a Negro to me. When he found out where he was, he yelled out, "Git me outa here; I'd ruther die out in front of this hospital than git well in here." So we put him in the white ward, but the patients there objected. So I had to put him in a private room. That's what I always do now—put 'em in a private room. If I don't have one, I put 'em in the hall and put a screen around 'em.

In most South Carolina towns mestizos are seated in the white sections of moving-picture theaters, and they invariably use the white waiting-rooms of bus lines and railways. They are considered white by the Selective Service; and where the races are segregated on county "honor rolls," mestizos are recorded among the whites. I have seen white people shake hands with them and address them as "mister" and "mistress"—gestures tantamount to bestowing the accolade of white status. Every probate judge can recount instances of marriages of whites and mestizos and will confess that on their records all mestizos are

white, though a few "leave the race blank." To marry a mestizo is, of course, a serious blow to one's status; but it is not nearly so serious as would be marriage to a Negro.

Many of these changes have come within the last fifteen or twenty years. Prior to that time most mestizos lived almost entirely to themselves in small, isolated racial "islands." Improvements in the means of communication have broken down this isolation; and several of the New Deal's programs, especially W.P.A. and F.S.A., have contributed to the process. As a result, these compact communities are disintegrating, their members are dispersing, most of them are much smaller than formerly, and a few have become almost extinct. The present war, too, is speeding up the assimilation in a variety of ways. There are countless persons in South Carolina, to say nothing of many others who have migrated elsewhere, who themselves have made the transition from mestizo to the white status or whose forebears, a generation or two back, succeeded in leaping the hurdle. "He goes as a white man," I was often told, "but he comes from that stock." One is not rash, therefore, who prophesies that a few more generations will see the disappearance of the mestizos. In South Carolina they are almost—but not quite—white.

RHODE ISLAND STATE COLLEGE

1941
1943

Name James Brewton Berry

Field: Sociology

Associate Professor Sociology
Director of Anthropological Collection
University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

Plan of Work

A study of the "Brass Ankles" of South Carolina.

Wishes to work for one year beginning June, 1943. Will return to present position.

Personal Data

Born Orangeburg, South Carolina, August, 1901.
Married. One child.

Age: 41
Draft: 3A

Undergraduate Work

Wofford College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, A. B., 1922.

Graduate Work

Yale University, B. D., 1925.
University of Edinburgh, Ph. D., 1930.
Ohio State University, 1929-31.

Experience

Assistant, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1929-31, \$150 average per month; associate professor, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1931 to present, \$2800-\$4015.

Accomplishments

Phi Beta Kappa. Fellow, Society for American Archaeology.

Publications:

Directed Archaeological Survey of Missouri, 1933-35 under CWA and FERA. book, You and Your Superstitions, Lucas Brothers, 1940; The Indians of Missouri, in preparation. Various articles in sociological and archaeological journals.

Fellowships:

Held Fogg scholarship five times, Yale University, 1923-25. Day fellowship, awarded by Yale University for study at University of Edinburgh, 1925-27, \$1500.

References

Two Social Science Research Council grants-in-aid, \$500, 1941, 1942.

- Dr. D. D. Wallace, Wofford College
- Dr. Herbert A. Miller, Pennsylvania State College
- Dr. E. V. Stonequist, Skidmore College
- Dr. C. C. North, Ohio State University
- Dr. W. C. Curtis, University of Missouri

Budget Summary

Total Amount Needed	\$2500
From Applicant	400
From Fund	\$2100

AMOUNT GRANTED



A Study of the "Brass Ankles" of South Carolina

Character and scope. Throughout the lower part of South Carolina are scattered communities of people who are commonly referred to (but not in their presence) as "Brass Ankles", "Red Bones", "Greeks", "Turks", and the like. These people insist that they are white, although some of them will admit that they have a trace of Indian blood in their veins. The white people, however, are virtually unanimous in their conviction that these people are Indian-white-Negro hybrids; and are disposed, therefore, to deal with them as though they were Negroes, in accordance with the Southern policy that "a drop of Negro blood makes a person a Negro."

This situation gives rise to many problems, and results in some peculiar adjustments. Friction develops wherever the members of the "Brass Ankle" community come into contact with Negroes and whites, but especially around such institutions as schools, churches, hospitals, trains and busses - institutions in which the principle of racial segregation is so firmly rooted in the traditions of the South.

Each locality has arrived at its own adjustments to these problems, although wide differences in customs appear from section to section. In one, for example, children of the "Brass Ankle" group are permitted to attend the white schools; in another, they are rigidly excluded, and a "special" school has been established for them. In no community, however, have the adjustments been sufficiently satisfactory to remove the continuous threat of friction.

While in theory the "Brass Ankles" are subject to the restrictions of the Negro caste, actually the dominant white group makes many concessions to them. They are permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries; they attend the county fair on days reserved for white people; and the etiquette that governs Negro-white relations is often relaxed in the case of the "Brass Ankles." Moreover, intermarriage between whites and "Brass Ankles" receives far less condemnation than would intermarriage between whites and Negroes.

South Carolina is not alone in having such communities. The largest, and best known, are the Croatan Indians of North Carolina; and there are the Cajuns of Alabama and Louisiana. No doubt there are similar groups in Georgia, Mississippi, and other Southern states. These people have had some attention in popular literature¹; but, with one exception², they have received no serious sociological study. Those in South Carolina have had no attention from social scientists.

Under this project, the purpose will be to learn as much as possible about the "Brass Ankle" communities of South Carolina. Among the problems to be investigated would be the following: their history and background; attitudes of whites and Negroes toward the "Brass Ankles"; their economic and social conditions; educational problems; difficulties encountered when they migrate to other communities; attitudes toward exogamous marriages; adjustments to interracial etiquette. Other interesting problems and data will doubtless emerge as the project develops.

Significance. From the practical point of view, this study will furnish

1. J.P.Lucas and B.T.Groome, The King of Scuffletown; Gertrude Shelby and S.G.Stoney, Po' Buckra; Carl Carmer, Stars Fell on Alabama.
2. Guy B. Johnson, Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community.

American Sociological Review, Vol. 4 No. 4, August, 1939.

a body of information about a large, mysterious, and little-understood element in our society. Theoretically, it will be a contribution to the sociological and anthropological literature dealing with problems of acculturation and assimilation. For a complete understanding of these theoretical problems it is necessary that we have many studies of racial and cultural contacts, reflecting a wide variety of situations. The South Carolina "Brass Ankles" represent a group in the process of being assimilated and amalgamated into the white group; but the assimilation is taking place under conditions that are quite unique. For example, these people are unquestionably "passing" into the white caste; but they are doing so, not surreptitiously, as is usually the case, but openly, directly, and militantly.

Present state of project. I have been especially interested in this problem since last August. At that time, having been granted a sabbatical leave by the University of Missouri, I returned to my home in South Carolina in order to complete the writing of a book on which I have been engaged. Learning about the existence of a "Brass Ankle" community but thirty miles from my home, I began making investigations, with the view to publishing a report in one of the sociological journals. Thus far I have made three visits to the settlement, meeting and talking to many of its members, and getting myself established. I have interviewed about fifty persons who have some special knowledge of the community, such as lawyers, police, employers, farmers, school officials, members of draft boards, and census enumerators. I have followed several families who have moved to other towns, and have learned something about the difficulties they encountered. My inquiries have led to the discovery of at least seven other communities in South Carolina, and there are doubtless many more.

Where the work would be undertaken. The research would involve my residing in, or near, the various "Brass Ankle" communities, perhaps for periods of three or four weeks in each. A certain amount of library research would also be involved, and this could best be done in the cities of Charleston and Columbia.

Publication. The project has not yet reached the point where the question of publication arises; but the subject possesses such inherent interest, that I do not anticipate any difficulties. I believe I can produce a manuscript that will appeal to one of the university presses. The University of Missouri Studies would be a possible channel for publication; or the material could be worked into a series of articles for the sociological journals.

Subsequent plans. For many years my major interests, both in research and in teaching, have been the American Indian (archaeology and ethno-history) and race relations. The fact that the former has received the greater part of my effort is the result of the accident of my taking a position in Missouri, where there was a desperate need for archaeological research. I do not anticipate any changes in my sphere of interest. At the present time my plans are that I shall return to the University of Missouri and resume my former duties.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Name: James Brewton Berry. B.A., Wofford College, 1922; B.D., Yale University, 1925. Entered Oct. 3, 1929.

Courses	Hours	Grades
Sociology 801	2	A
Sociology 821	2	Progress
Sociology 845	3	A
Sociology 618	3	B
Sociology 802	2	A
Sociology 822	2	Progress
Sociology 846	3	A
Sociology 803	2	A
Sociology 820	2	A
Princ. of Educ. 640	3	A

Marking system: A, Excellent; B, Good; C, Average; D, Poor; E, Failure.

December, 23, 1942.

E. D. Cockins, Registrar.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

W O F F O R D C O L L E G E

Spartanburg, S. C.

Official Transcript of the Record of James Brewton Berry

Attendance: September, 1918 to June, 1922.

Present status: A.B. graduate, 1922.

Session	Course	Grades		Semester Hours
		First term	Second term	
1918-1919	English	2	2	8
	Bible I	1	1	2
	Latin I	1	1	2
	Greek I	1	1	10
	Mathematics	1	1	10
1919-1920	English 2	1	1	6
	Bible 2	1	2	4
	Latin 2	1	1	6
	Greek 2	1	1	6
	History 1	1	1	6
	Chemistry 1	2	2	8
1920-1921	English 3	2	2	6
	Bible 3	1	2	2
	Physics 1	1	1	6
	History 2	1	2	6
	Economics	1	1	6
	Geology	1	1	6
	Sociology	1	1	6
1921-1922	Mineralogy	1	2	6
	Ethics	1	1	2
	Psychology	2	1	6
	Astronomy	1	1	6
	Biology	1	1	8

Grading system: 1, 90 - 100; 2, 80 - 90; 3, 70 - 80; 4, Failure.

This transcript issued Dec. 24, 1942.

W.C. Herbert, Registrar.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

LETTERS OF REFERENCE

James Brewton Berry

Dr. D. D. Wallace, Professor of History and Economics, Wofford College,
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Mr. James Brewton Berry has been known to me for many years, both as a student in my classes, and as a progressive, active scholar, teacher, and investigator since his graduation. I can commend him for research work in the highest terms. He may be relied upon to put any assistance extended to him to the most useful purpose.

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Dr. E. V. Stonequist, Chairman, Professor of Sociology, Skidmore College,
Saratoga Springs, New York

I made the acquaintance of Dr. Brewton Berry during the summer of 1940 when I taught in the summer session of the University of Missouri. I saw a good deal of Doctor Berry during that time and I have followed some of his scholarly interests and read a number of his publications. On the basis of this knowledge I have no hesitancy in writing quite positively in favor of his application for a Rosenwald fellowship. More specifically, I regard Doctor Berry as an excellent observer and acute thinker in the field of race relations. He is not only able to use and interpret literature in the field; he is also a first-rate field worker. He should be able to perform an interesting task in the project mentioned for he has the personality traits (approachableness, sense of humor, tact, etc.) which are required. He also writes well.

The subject of his proposed study - the "Brass Ankles" of South Carolina - is a fruitful one for scientific study. Very little is known about the many small mixed racial communities in the South, and

they are numerous enough to deserve attention of this kind. More significant, however, are the implications of the adjustments of these groups for the future of Negro-white relations in the South. From a theoretical standpoint, a study of such mixed communities will be of value in furthering scientific knowledge about the processes of race mixture and cultural assimilation.

- - - - -

Dr. C. G. North, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University

Dr. James Brewton Berry was formerly a member of our Department. Since leaving to go to the University of Missouri, I have been in frequent contact with him and with the work he has been doing there. I regard him as a very capable scholar and one peculiarly fitted to do a valuable piece of work on the proposed project. He is a thorough scholar and has produced work that has received the endorsement of other people in his field. The project appears to be one which has considerable promise for very fruitful investigation. I highly endorse both the project and the candidate.

I am sure that Doctor Berry has no personality handicaps which would interfere with his doing a first class type of objective investigation.

- - - - -

Dr. W. C. Curtis, Dean, College of Arts and Science, University of Missouri

Dr. James Brewton Berry, now on sabbatical leave from the University of Missouri, is regarded as one of the better members of our faculty in the College of Arts and Science. He has done excellent work as a teacher and in his public relations, and I have been particularly

impressed by the way in which he has developed his work in anthropology. This work is now focused upon the Indian cultures in Missouri and has been conducted by Professor Berry with great enthusiasm and competence. I have followed his work closely because of my interest in such matters and because it has given me an opportunity to watch the way in which he has developed a comprehensive program and the way in which he handles himself in the popularizing of this work, which is no less important from our standpoint than its proper technical statement. His success in dealing with the people of Missouri on farms and in soil communities, as well as with business and professional men in the larger cities, is such that I should have confidence in his ability to undertake such a study as the one indicated upon the "Brass Ankles".

If he is appointed to a Rosenwald Fellowship, I am sure that Professor Berry will give a good account of himself and thus of the University of Missouri.

Professor Berry's leave can be continued for another year although we can use him effectively at any time he wishes to resume his active duties. Having plans for a program of training social workers as part of our contribution to the national emergency, we will be inconvenienced by not having him return to Columbia next September, but in the long run I feel that the University would profit more by his having the experience as a Rosenwald Fellow.

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Mr. Herbert Adolphus Miller, Visiting Professor of Sociology, Black Mountain College

Dr. Berry was a student of mine at Ohio State University and I have followed his work at Missouri. He is a man of superior judgment, initiative and self-direction. He is unusually well equipped for the

project he has outlined and it will make a valuable contribution if he carries it through — in a field of great importance. As a Southerner he is entirely emancipated from traditional attitudes.

1941
1943 DS

Name James Brewton Berry
Associate Professor Sociology
Director of Anthropological Collection
University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

Field: Sociology

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Dr. Herbert A. Miller, Pennsylvania State College
Dr. E. V. Stonequist, Skidmore College
Dr. C. C. North, Ohio State University
Dr. W. C. Curtis, University of Missouri

Budget Summary

Total Amount Needed \$2500
From Applicant 400
From Fund \$2100

AMOUNT GRANTED



FISK
UNIVERSITY

A Study of the "Brass Ankles" of South CarolinaPLEASE RETURN
TO
JULIUS ROBERTSON FUND

Character and scope. Throughout the lower part of South Carolina are scattered communities of people who are commonly referred to (but not in their presence) as "Brass Ankles", "Red Bones", "Greeks", "Turks", and the like. These people insist that they are white, although some of them will admit that they have a trace of Indian blood in their veins. The white people, however, are virtually unanimous in their conviction that these people are Indian-white-Negro hybrids; and are disposed, therefore, to deal with them as though they were Negroes, in accordance with the Southern policy that "a drop of Negro blood makes a person a Negro."

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WOFFORD COLLEGE

SPARTANBURG, S. C.

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF THE RECORD OF James Brewton Berry

I. ATTENDANCE: Attended from September, 1918 to June, 1922.
 II. PRESENT STATUS: A.B. graduate, 1922.
 III. ENTRANCE: Units upon certificate from _____

SUBJECTS	UNITS	SUBJECTS	UNITS	SUBJECTS	UNITS	SUBJECTS	UNITS
ENGLISH		ECONOMICS		BIOLOGY			
LATIN		ALGEBRA		AGRICULTURE			
FRENCH		ARITHMETIC		COMMERCIAL			
GERMAN		PLANE GEOMETRY		PHYSIOLOGY			
SPANISH		TRIGONOMETRY		PHYSIOGRAPHY			
CIVICS		PHYSICS		GENERAL SCIENCE			
HISTORY		CHEMISTRY					
						TOTAL	

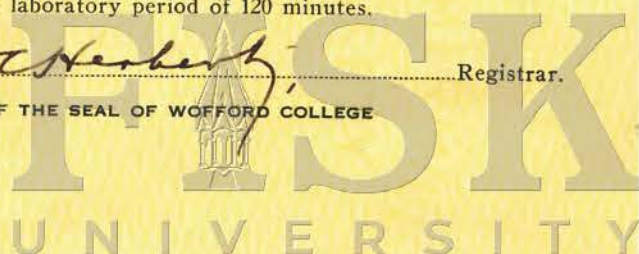
IV. COLLEGE CREDITS:

SESSION	COURSE	HRS. A WEEK		GRADES RECEIVED				VALUE SEMESTER HOURS
		LECT.	LAB.	FIRST TERM	SECOND TERM	THIRD TERM	SUMMER TERM	
1	1918-19 English	4		2	2			8
2	Bible 1	1		1	1			2
3	Latin 1	4		1	1			8
4	Greek 1	5		1	1			10
5	Mathematics 1 - Alg. & Trig.	5		1	1			10
6	1919-20 English 2	3		1	1			6
7	Bible 2	2		1	2			4
8	Latin 2	3		1	1			6
9	Greek 2	3		1	1			6
10	History 1	3		1	1			6
11	Chemistry 1 - General	3	2	2	2			8
12	1920-21 English 3	3		2	2			6
13	Bible 3	1		1	2			2
14	Physics 1 - General	3		1	1			6
15	History 2	3		1	2			6
16	Economics	3		1	1			6
17	Geology	3		1	1			6
18	Sociology	3		1	1			6
19	1921-22 Geology 2 - Mineralogy	3	lab.	1	2			6
20	Ethics	1		1	1			2
21	Psychology	3		2	1			6
22	Astronomy	3		1	1			6
23	Biology	3	2	1	1			8
24								
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33								
34								
35								
36								

Registrar's entries end on line Twenty-three. Measures to be valid must have same initials attached as are signed below.
 GRADING SYSTEM: A, Excellent; B, Good; C, Fair; D, Passable; E, Failure, allowing second examination; F, Failure; Inc., Incomplete; X, Absent from examination; W, Withdrawn from course.
 GRADING SYSTEM PRIOR TO 1929: 1, 90 to 100; 2, 80 to 90; 3, 70 to 80; 4, Failure.
 LENGTH OF SCHOOL YEAR: Three terms of twelve weeks each. Summer term, six weeks.
 LENGTH OF SCHOOL HOUR: Each lecture hour consists of 60 minutes and each laboratory period of 120 minutes.

This transcript issued December 24, 1942. W. H. Herberich Registrar.

THIS TRANSCRIPT IS NOT VALID UNLESS IT BEARS THE IMPRINT OF THE SEAL OF WOFFORD COLLEGE



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

ENTRANCE RECORD		DEFICIENCIES												ACADEMIC RECORD						CREDITS											
Complete	Units	SPRING QUARTER				WINTER QUARTER				AUTUMN QUARTER				AUTUMN QUARTER			WINTER QUARTER			SPRING QUARTER											
		Year	Mark	Hrs.	No.	Year	Mark	Hrs.	No.	Year	Mark	Hrs.	No.	Year	Mark	Hrs.	Year	Mark	Hrs.	Year	Mark	Hrs.	Year	Mark	Hrs.						
		FIRST YEAR																													
		Sociology 801 2 A 29 618 3 B 30																													
		Sociology 821 2 Prog 29 802 2 A 30																													
		Sociology 845 3 A 29 822 2 Prog 30																													
		Sociology 846 3 A 30 803 2 A 30																													
		Prin. Edu. 640 3 A 30																													
		Sociology 820 2 A 30																													
		SECOND YEAR																													
		THIRD YEAR																													
		FOURTH YEAR																													
		EXTRA WORK																													

NAME BERRY - JAMES BREWTON, B.A., B.D.
HOME ADDRESS ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA
PARENT OR GUARDIAN J. A. BERRY - ORANGEBURG, S.C.
COLLEGE Graduate School
GRADUATED FROM WOLFORD COLLEGE
DATE 1922
BORN Aug. 9, 1901
ENTERED Oct. 3, 1923
DEGREE
DATE 1925

INTELLIGENCE TEST—
 Class... III
 Percentile... 71
 Reading Test... 86
 Physical Examination taken

E. H. Cochran
 Registrar
 December 23, 1942

Marking System July, 1922: A—Excellent; B—Good; C—Average; D—Poor but passing; E—Failure; Inc.—Incomplete

LETTERS OF REFERENCE

James Brewton Berry

Dr. D. D. Wallace, Professor of History and Economics, Wofford College,
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Mr. James Brewton Berry has been known to me for many years, both as a student in my classes, and as a progressive, active scholar, teacher, and investigator since his graduation. I can commend him for research work in the highest terms. He may be relied upon to put any assistance extended to him to the most useful purpose.

- - - - -

Dr. E. V. Stonequist, Chairman, Professor of Sociology, Skidmore College,
Saratoga Springs, New York

I made the acquaintance of Dr. Brewton Berry during the summer of 1940 when I taught in the summer session of the University of Missouri. I saw a good deal of Doctor Berry during that time and I have followed some of his scholarly interests and read a number of his publications. On the basis of this knowledge I have no hesitancy in writing quite positively in favor of his application for a Rosenwald fellowship. More specifically, I regard Doctor Berry as an excellent observer and acute thinker in the field of race relations. He is not only able to use and interpret literature in the field: he is also a first-rate field worker. He should be able to perform an interesting task in the project mentioned for he has the personality traits (approachableness, sense of humor, tact, etc.) which are required. He also writes well.

The subject of his proposed study - the "Brass Ankles" of South Carolina - is a fruitful one for scientific study. Very little is known about the many small mixed racial communities in the South, and

they are numerous enough to deserve attention of this kind. More significant, however, are the implications of the adjustments of these groups for the future of Negro-white relations in the South. From a theoretical standpoint, a study of such mixed communities will be of value in furthering scientific knowledge about the processes of race mixture and cultural assimilation.

Dr. C. C. North, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University

Dr. James Brewton Berry was formerly a member of our Department. Since leaving to go to the University of Missouri, I have been in frequent contact with him and with the work he has been doing there. I regard him as a very capable scholar and one peculiarly fitted to do a valuable piece of work on the proposed project. He is a thorough scholar and has produced work that has received the endorsement of other people in his field. The project appears to be one which has considerable promise for very fruitful investigation. I highly endorse both the project and the candidate.

I am sure that Doctor Berry has no personality handicaps which would interfere with his doing a first class type of objective investigation.

Dr. W. C. Curtis, Dean, College of Arts and Science, University of Missouri

Dr. James Brewton Berry, now on sabbatical leave from the University of Missouri, is regarded as one of the better members of our faculty in the College of Arts and Science. He has done excellent work as a teacher and in his public relations, and I have been particularly

impressed by the way in which he has developed his work in anthropology. This work is now focused upon the Indian cultures in Missouri and has been conducted by Professor Berry with great enthusiasm and competence. I have followed his work closely because of my interest in such matters and because it has given me an opportunity to watch the way in which he has developed a comprehensive program and the way in which he handles himself in the popularizing of this work, which is no less important from our standpoint than its proper technical statement. His success in dealing with the people of Missouri on farms and in soil communities, as well as with business and professional men in the larger cities, is such that I should have confidence in his ability to undertake such a study as the one indicated upon the "Brass Ankles".

If he is appointed to a Rosenwald Fellowship, I am sure that Professor Berry will give a good account of himself and thus of the University of Missouri.

Professor Berry's leave can be continued for another year although we can use him effectively at any time he wishes to resume his active duties. Having plans for a program of training social workers as part of our contribution to the national emergency, we will be inconvenienced by not having him return to Columbia next September, but in the long run I feel that the University would profit more by his having the experience as a Rosenwald Fellow.

- - - - -

Mr. Herbert Adolphus Miller, Visiting Professor of Sociology, Black Mountain College

Dr. Berry was a student of mine at Ohio State University and I have followed his work at Missouri. He is a man of superior judgment, initiative and self-direction. He is unusually well equipped for the



project he has outlined and it will make a valuable contribution if he carries it through -- in a field of great importance. As a Southerner he is entirely emancipated from traditional attitudes.

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

You and Your Superstitions. Lucas Brothers, 1940.

The Indians of Missouri. (In preparation).

Articles related to race problems:

A Southerner Learns about Race. Common Ground, Vol. 2 No. 3, 1942.

The Concept of Race in Sociology Textbooks. Social Forces,
Vol. 18 No. 3, 1940.

The Education of John Hunter. Social Science, Vol. 15 No. 3,
1940.

Silver Spoon: The Autobiography of Daddy June. Story,
Vol. 7, No. 37, August, 1935.

Publications in archaeology:

An Oneota Site in Missouri. American Antiquity, Vol. 7 No. 3,
January, 1942.

Archaeological Remains of the Osage. Accepted for publication
in American Antiquity.

The Missouri Indians. Southwestern Social Science Quarterly,
Vol. 17 No. 2, September, 1936.

Archaeological Resources and Research in Missouri. Southwestern
Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 16 No. 4, 1936.

Archaeological Investigations in Boone County. The Missouri
Archaeologist, Vol. 4 No. 3, Sept., 1938.

The Archaeology of Wayne County. The Missouri Archaeologist,
Vol. 6 No. 1, June, 1940.

Looking Backward. The Journal of Engineering Education, Vol. 31
No. 10, June, 1940.

Various other articles which have appeared in The South Atlantic
Quarterly, Social Science, The Christian Century, The Churchman,
Advance, The Wisconsin Archaeologist, The Missouri Archaeologist,
Readers' Digest, The Missouri Magazine, etc., etc.

FELLOWSHIPS

April 21, 1943

Dear Mr. Berry: It is a pleasure to inform you that you have been selected by the Committee on Fellowships of the Julius Rosenwald Fund to receive a grant of Two thousand dollars (\$2,000) to enable you to carry forward your study of the "Brass Ankles" of South Carolina, for a twelve-month period. In the event that you join the armed forces before you have made substantial progress under this fellowship, it will, of course, be impossible for us to hold the grant for you.

Will you please let us know at once whether or not you can accept this grant? An announcement of the Committee's selections will be made soon, and it can include only those from whom acceptances have been received.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships

VH:MLJ

Mr. James Brewton Berry
Department of Sociology
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri

**FISK**
UNIVERSITY

a

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Mr. James Brewton Berry
Report Requested of Dr. Herbert Adolphus Miller
 Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. An early reply will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for adequate consideration of the large number of candidates.

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

William C. Haygood
Director for Fellowships

REPORT

Mr. Berry was a student of mine at Ohio State University and I have followed his work at Missouri. He is a man of superior judgment, initiative and self direction. He is unusually well equipped for the project he has outlined and it will make a valuable contribution if he carries it through in a field of great importance. As a Southerner he is entirely emancipated from traditional attitudes.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
1901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Enclosed report on candidate for Fellowship

Name of candidate

Address of candidate

The above-named candidate was applied to this fund for a fellowship and was recommended as a recipient. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

I will appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to carry out the plan. In his field he is well equipped to carry out the plan. In his field he is well equipped to carry out the plan. In his field he is well equipped to carry out the plan.

A request regarding this fellowship will be held in strict confidence.

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities?

Unusually free

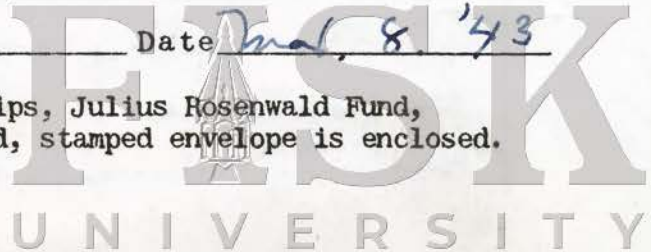
Signed Herbert A. Miller

Position or Title Visiting Professor of Sociology

Address Black Mountain College,

Black Mountain, N.C. Date Mar. 8, '43

Please return to the Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.



JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Mr. James Brewton Berry
Report Requested of Dr. C. C. North
Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. *An early reply will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for adequate consideration of the large number of candidates.*

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

William C. Haygood

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

Dr. James Brewton Berry was formerly a member of our Department. Since leaving to go to the University of Missouri, I have been in frequent contact with him and with the work he has been doing there. I regard him as a very capable scholar and one peculiarly fitted to do a valuable piece of work on the proposed project. He is a thorough scholar and has produced work that has received the endorsement of other people in his field. The project appears to be one which has considerable promise for very fruitful investigation. I highly endorse both the project and the candidate.

I am very sure that Dr. Berry has no personality handicaps which would interfere with his doing a first class type of objective investigation.

C. C. North
FISK UNIVERSITY
OVER

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Mr. James Brewster Barry

Name of Candidate

Dr. C. C. North

Report Requested of

The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as referee. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. An early reply will be given assurance in showing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for adequate consideration of the large number of candidates.

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

William C. Hart

Director of Fellowships

REPORT

Dr. James Brewster Barry was formerly a member of our Department.

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities?

A very capable scholar and one who has done a great deal of work on the proposed project. He is a thorough scholar and has produced work that has received the endorsement of other people in his field. The project appears to be one which has considerable promise for very fruitful investigation. I highly endorse both the project and the candidate.

I am very sure that Dr. Barry has no personality handicaps which would interfere with his doing a first class type of research investigation.

Signed Cecil C. North

Position or Title Professor of Sociology

Address The Ohio State University

Date Jan. 18, 1943

Please return to the Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.

FISK UNIVERSITY

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate Mr. James Brewton Berry
Report Requested of Dr. E. V. Stonequist
 Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. *An early reply will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for adequate consideration of the large number of candidates.*

We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

William C. Haygood

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

I made the acquaintance of Dr. Brewton Berry during the summer of 1940 when I taught in the summer session of the University of Missouri. I saw a good deal of Dr. Berry during that time and I have followed some of his scholarly interests and read a number of his publications. On the basis of this knowledge I have no hesitancy in writing quite positively in favor of his application for a Rosenwald fellowship. More specifically, I regard Dr. Berry as an excellent observer and acute thinker in the field of race relations. He is not only able to use and interpret literature in the field: he is also a first-rate field worker. He should be able to perform an interesting task in the project mentioned for he has the personality traits (approachableness, sense of humor, tact, etc) which are required. He also writes well.

The subject of his proposed study--the "Bress Ankles" of South Carolina--is a fruitful one for scientific study. Very little is known about the many small mixed racial

communities in the South, and they are numerous enough to deserve attention of this kind. More significantly, however, are the implications of the adjustments of these groups for the future of Negro-white relations in the South. From a theoretical standpoint, a study of such mixed communities will be of value in furthering scientific knowledge about the processes of race mixture and cultural assimilation.

Everett V. Stonequist

February 10, 1943

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities? *Yes.*

Signed Everett V. Stonequist

Position or Title Chairman, Professor of Sociology, Skidmore College

Address Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

Date Feb 10, 1943

Please return to the Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.

REPORT

OVER

UNIVERSITY

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND
4901 ELLIS AVENUE
CHICAGO

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Name of Candidate _____
Report Requested of _____
Welfare College, Springfield, Illinois

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as referee. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.
We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. An early reply will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for adequate consideration of the large number of candidates.

Nearest candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

W. H. C. Hoffmann
Director for Fellowships

REPORT

Mr. James Brewster Berry has been known to me for many years.

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities?

I can commend him for research work in the highest degree. He may be relied upon to put any assistance extended to him to the most useful purpose.

Signed _____

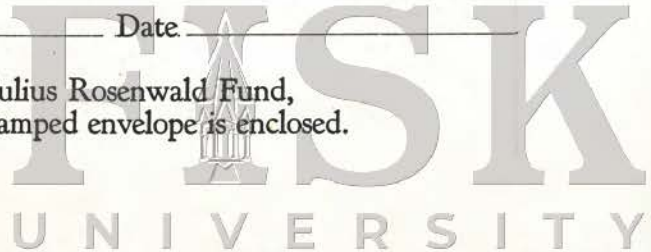
Position or Title _____

Address _____

in Welfare College.

Date _____

Please return to the Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.



OVER

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

4901 ELLIS AVENUE

CHICAGO

*No plan of
work returned*

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

a

Name of Candidate Mr. James Brewton Berry
Report Requested of Dr. W. C. Curtis

University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

The above-named candidate has applied to this Fund for a fellowship and has given your name as a reference. The candidate's plan of work is attached. Please return it with your statement.

We shall appreciate your frank opinion of this applicant's qualifications, and an appraisal of his plan of work and of his ability to make a noteworthy contribution in his field. *An early reply will be of great assistance in allowing the Fellowship Committee sufficient time for adequate consideration of the large number of candidates.*

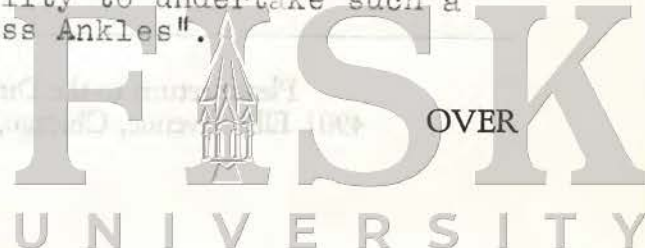
We request candid and critical comment. Your reply will be held in strict confidence.

William C. Haygood

Director for Fellowships

REPORT

Dr. James Brewton Berry, now on sabbatical leave from the University of Missouri, is regarded as one of the better members of our faculty in the College of Arts and Science. He has done excellent work as a teacher and in his public relations, and I have been particularly impressed by the way in which he has developed his work in Anthropology. This work is now focused upon the ~~work of~~ Indian cultures in Missouri and has been conducted by Professor Berry with great enthusiasm and competence. I have followed his work closely because of my interest in such matters and because it has given me an opportunity to watch the way in which he has developed a comprehensive program and the way in which he handles himself in the popularizing of this work which is no less important from our standpoint than its proper technical statement. His success in dealing with the people of Missouri on farms and in soil communities as well as with business and professional men in the larger cities is such that I should have confidence in his ability to undertake such a study as the one indicated upon the "Brass Ankles".



If he is appointed to a Rosenwald Fellowship, I am sure that Professor Berry will give a good account of himself and thus of the University of Missouri.

Professor Berry's leave can be continued for another year although we can use him effectively at any time he wishes to resume his active duties. Having plans for a program of training social workers as part of our contribution to the national emergency, we will be inconvenienced by not having him return to Columbia next September, but in the long run I feel that the University would profit more by his having the experience as a Rosenwald Fellow.

Is the candidate free from personality handicaps which would make it difficult to obtain and hold a position giving him opportunity to utilize his abilities?

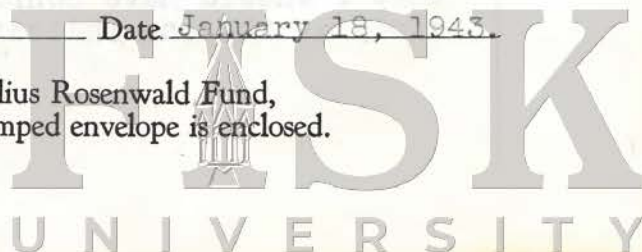
Signed Walter C. Curtis

Position or Title Dean, College of Arts and Science, University of Missouri

Address 210 Jesse Hall, Columbia, Missouri

Date January 18, 1943.

Please return to the Director for Fellowships, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

HOWARD L. BEVIS, President

COLUMBUS 10

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 14, 1946.

ELLOWSHIPS

	WCH	11/18	WCH	11/19

Mr. William C. Haygood,
c/o Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago 15, Ill.

Dear Mr. Haygood:

I have your letter of November 7th inviting me, as a former Rosenwald Fund Fellow, to help you locate promising fellowship material. I shall be very glad to do whatever I can. We have a number of very able graduate students in our department here, and I shall immediately discuss the matter with them. I shall also be on the lookout for promising candidates in years to come.

WCH
RL

You also inquired about news of myself. I left the University of Missouri in 1945 to accept a position as Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology at Rhode Island State College. After one year there I was invited to join the faculty of Ohio State University as Professor of Sociology. I rather think I shall be here for quite a long time. As for my research, I have published one article which was based upon material I gathered while holding my fellowship. I sent two copies of this article to your office. I am now in the process of writing a book about the people I studied. The manuscript is coming along fairly well, and I hope to have it finished in another year. Our tremendous student enrollment at present interrupts my writing and research.

Very truly yours,

Brent B. Berry



UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI
COLUMBIA

FELLOWSHIPS
Berry, Brewster

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Nov. 6, 1941.

WCH	9	WCA	9
		WCA	9

Mr. William C. Haygood,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

I am interested in applying for a Rosenwald fellowship, and am writing to ask that you send me the necessary forms. I should appreciate it, also, if you would tell me whether or not I am eligible for an appointment. I am 41 years old, was born and reared in South Carolina, and have been a member of the Sociology Department of this University for twelve years. Most of my research has been in Missouri archaeology; but my second interest is in race relations, and I have been teaching a course, and have published a few papers, in that field. At present I am on sabbatical leave, and, with a grant from the Social Science Research Council, am writing a book on the Indians of Missouri.

This past summer I spent three months at my home in South Carolina, and while there became interested in some people who are referred to as "Brass Ankles", "Red Bones", "Turks", etc. I conducted a good deal of research, and have gathered some interesting data. These people are apparently Indian-white-Negro hybrids; but they themselves deny any Negro ancestry, and the white people in those communities are disposed to consider them Negroes. The result is a very strange phenomenon. In North

Carolina these people are called "Croatans", and they have been the subject of some study by sociologists at the University. But the South Carolina communities, which differ somewhat from those in North Carolina, have never been studied. I have learned that similar groups are to be found throughout the southern states; but, as far as I have been able to discover, they have not been investigated scientifically. I believe that these people offer an interesting and profitable field for research, and I should like very much to have the opportunity of doing it.

Very truly yours,

Brenton Berry

BB/M

FELLOWSHIPS

November 9, 1942

Dear Mr. Berry: Mr. Haygood will be out of the office for the next two weeks, but in his absence I am sending you application blanks. Missouri is a borderline state as far as our awards go, but the Committee on Fellowships is willing to consider an exceptional case on its merits. I would therefore suggest that you file an application and take your chance along with the other white candidates.

Sincerely yours,

MARGARET L. UTLEY

MLU

Mr. Brewton Barry
Department of Sociology
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri

FISK
UNIVERSITY

BERRY & BERRY

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
86 E. RUSSELL STREET
ORANGEBURG, S. C.

JOSEPH A. BERRY
ANDREW BERRY

TELEPHONE 153

138 E. Russell St.,
Orangeburg, S.C.,
Jan. 2, 1943.

Mr. W. C. Haygood,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Ave.,
Chicago, Ill.

well	4	ml	o

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is my application for a Julius Rosenwald Fellowship.

It is impossible for me to obtain a transcript of my record at the University of Edinburgh. As for my Yale transcript, I have waited until today for it to arrive, but it did not, and I am having to forward my application without it. I regret this fact, as my record at Yale is a good one. I graduated there in 1925, first in my class, winning the Archibald High Scholarship Prize and the Day Traveling Fellowship.

Very truly,

Brewton Berry
Brewton Berry.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

14	28	146	

OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FELLOWSHIPS

Apartment 406,
2039 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.,
Washington, D. C.,
April 27, 1943.

Mrs. William C. Haygood,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mrs. Haygood:

Your letter of April 21, addressed to me at the University of Missouri, was forwarded to me here in Washington. I am delighted that the committee has seen fit to grant me a fellowship, and I shall, of course, accept it.

I should say that there are some matters that I shall have to arrange. The University of Missouri will have to extend my leave of absence another year, to September, 1944. Also, I shall have to ask to be released from my position here with the O. P. A., where I am serving as Senior Education Specialist. However, I do not anticipate any difficulty in either of these. Your letter states that the grant is for a "twelve-month period." I presume that it makes little difference when the period begins. My application, I believe, gave June as the time I proposed to begin **work**; but I should like to remain on here until, say, the fall, so that I might finish the task to which I have been assigned. In the meantime, however, I shall accept the fellowship, and proceed to make the necessary arrangements.

Respectfully,

James Brewton Berry

Brewton Berry/M

PI SK
UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIPS

May 6, 1943

Dear Mr. Berry: I am happy that you are able to accept the fellowship. It is perfectly satisfactory for you to postpone beginning work under your grant until September. Will you then let me know the exact date on which you wish to begin work, and the address to which payments should be sent? The usual arrangement is for regular instalments on the first of each month, spread over the period for which the award is made, but if this procedure is not satisfactory to you, we shall be glad to have your suggestions.

Sincerely yours,
VANDI V. HAYGOOD

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships

VH:MLU

(James)
Mr. Brewton Berry
Apartment 406
2039 New Hampshire Avenue
Washington, D. C.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIPS

OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

2039 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.,
Washington 9, D. C.,
July 6, 1943.

W.H. news

<i>✓</i>	<i>ADH</i>	<i>7/8</i>	<i>VHF</i>	<i>7/16</i>
	<i>DE</i>		<i>DE</i>	<i>7/9</i>

Mrs. William C. Haygood,
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mrs. Haygood:

In your letter of May 6 you asked me to let you know the exact date on which I planned to begin the research for which my fellowship was granted. I have today resigned from the O. P. A., the resignation to be effective on July 15. The following day I shall begin my investigation of "Brass Ankles". I am planning on remaining here in Washington to gather certain data from the libraries, and, then, not later than August 1, I shall begin the field work in South Carolina. My address for the period of the fellowship will be 138 East Russell Street, Orangeburg, S. C.

You may be interested in the enclosed editorial clipped from the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier.

Very truly yours,

Brewton Berry
Brewton Berry

BB/M



Rosenwald Fellowships

The Julius Rosenwald Fund has granted a fellowship to James Brewton Berry, associate professor of sociology at the University of Missouri, for a study of the "brass ankles" of South Carolina. It is gratifying that this South Carolinian, a native of Orangeburg and a graduate of Wofford college (1922) is coming home to study these little known people, many of them centered within a few miles of his home. After Wofford he went to Yale, was a fellow at the University of Edinburgh and received his doctor of philosophy degree there in 1929. Besides teaching at the University of Missouri he is director of the college anthropological collection.

According to tradition, the brass ankles are the leftover remnants of the Indian aborigines of the South Carolina coast. Now after many generations they are such a mixture of Indian, white and negro blood that little if anything is known accurately about them, not even the origin of the name. In some sections they have been called Croatians, a name borrowed from the same Indian tribe that inhabited the North Carolina country where Virginia Dare was born.

Another Missouri college teacher, Pauline Dingle Knobbs, instructor in social science education at Northwest Missouri State Teachers college, has been granted a fellowship for an analysis of the dual education system in Southern states. Thomas Sancton, managing editor of *The New Republic*, has been granted a fellowship for a book on race relations in the South.

Mr. Sancton is a former New Orleans newspaper man who at the age of twenty-eight, says a Rosenwald announcement, "is one of the newest of the South's crusading voices, and one of its most effective. He is an outstanding protagonist for justice for the negro, belonging to the very small group of Southerners who believe in complete equality. His articles in *The New Republic*, *Common Ground*, *American Scholar* and other magazines trenchantly attack the new problems of the South—the growing tensions among both negroes and whites as a result of the South's dilemma of fighting for democracy abroad and refusing to extend it at home—as well as restate and rethink the old problems basic to the South."

Mr. Sancton is returning to the South and while on fellowship will write a non-fiction book centered around the problems of racial relationships.

"He believes that a Southerner in exile", the Rosenwald release continues, "cannot speak with the effectiveness of one who lives and works within the region, and proposes to give up a most promising and profitable career in the North to add his voice to those of other Southern liberals working to establish better race relations".

Resident Southerners who cling to an old school of thought must prepare themselves for dealing with the pressure of public opinion constantly growing on the subject of the negroes. They must be prepared not with stubborn minds, stale arguments and ancient aphorisms, but with strong and supple logic and above all, justice. *The News and Courier* has been and still is a never failing advocate of justice for the negro, and equality before the law. It likewise is for complete separation of the races. In establishing "better race relations" it welcomes Mr. Sancton and all the Rosenwald fellows seeking information in the South. Let them take care that in improving the relations of the negroes they do not damage the good will of the whites.

12#0

FELLOWSHIPS

7/9/43

July 9, 1943

Dear Mr. Berry: Your recent letter to Mrs. Haygood has come in during her absence from the office and will be on her desk when she returns. In the meantime, however, I am making a note to pay your fellowship grant in twelve equal monthly installments of \$166.66 each beginning August 1. Unless we are notified to the contrary, these checks will be sent to your Orangeburg address.

Very truly yours,

DOROTHY A. ELVIDGE

DAE:AM

Mr. (Brewton Berry)
2039 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIPS

mtt

July 16, 1943

Dear Mr. Berry: I note that Miss Elvidge, our comptroller, has made arrangements for the payment of installments of your fellowship grant.

I found the editorial from the Charleston News and Courier most interesting. Our clipping service had missed it.

Sincerely yours,

VH:en

VANDI V. HAYGOOD

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting-Director for Fellowships

Mr. (Brewton Berry)
2039 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

FISK
UNIVERSITY

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

To

Mr. (Brewton Berry)
138 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Payment Voucher No. 6713

Date July 30, 1943

FELLOWSHIPS

First payment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$166.66

Ch. #29243

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.66	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by
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FISK UNIVERSITY
Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Brewton Berry
138 E. Russell Street
Orangeburg, S. C.

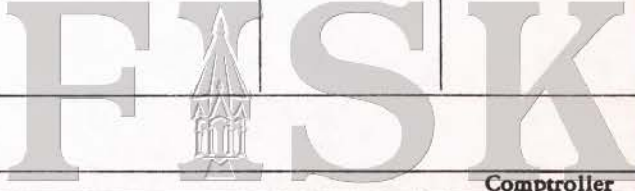
Payment Voucher No. 6801

Date August 31, 1943

September installment on fellowship grant ----- \$166.66

Ck. 29349

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.66	

Prepared by NT	Checked by	Posted by	
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Comptroller

FISK UNIVERSITY

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Brewton Berry
138 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Payment Voucher No. 6956

Date September 30, 1943

October installment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$166.68

Ck. #29525

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.68	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by
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Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Brewton Berry
138 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina

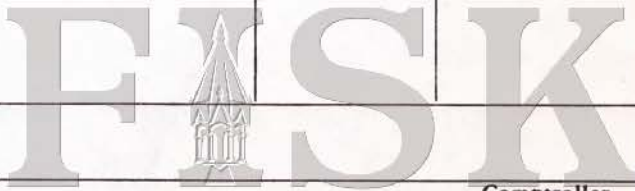
Payment Voucher No. 7109

Date October 29, 1943

November installment on fellowship - - - - \$166.66

Ck.#29700

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.66	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Brewton Berry

138 East Russell Street

Orangeburg, South Carolina

Payment Voucher No. 7257

Date November 30, 1943

December installment on fellowship - - - - - \$166.66

Chk. #29875

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.66	

Prepared by

AM

Checked by

Posted by



Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Brewton Berry
138 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Payment Voucher No. 7387

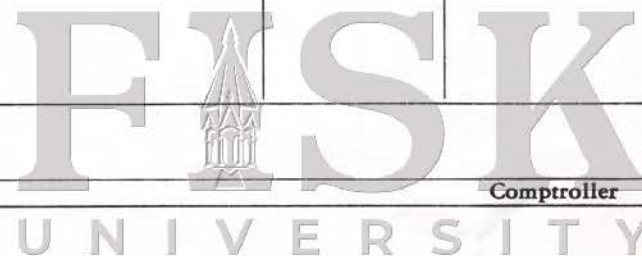
Date December 31, 1943

January installment on fellowship - - - - - \$166.68

Ck. #30058

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.68	

Prepared by AM	Checked by	Posted by
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Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To

Mr. Brewton Berry
158 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina


Payment Voucher No. 7563

Date January 31, 1944

February installment on fellowship ----- \$166.66

Ck. #30235

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.66	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller
ejj			

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Brewton Berry
158 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Payment Voucher No. 7702

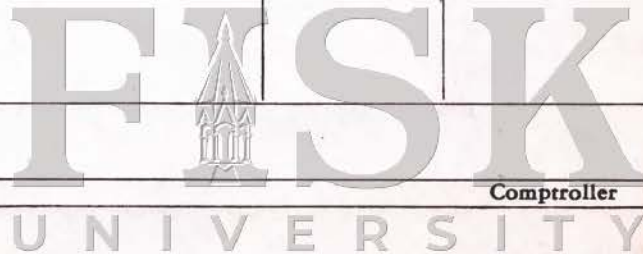
Date February 29, 1944

March installment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$166.66

Chk. #30401

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.66	

Prepared by ejj	Checked by	Posted by	
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Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Brewton Berry
138 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina


Payment Voucher No. 7896

Date March 31, 1944

April installment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$166.68

Ck. #30624

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.68	

Prepared by ejj	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller
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Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Brewton Berry
138 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina

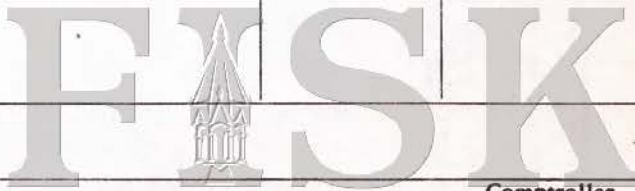
Payment Voucher No. 8061

Date April 28, 1944

May installment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$166.66

Ck. #30819

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.66	

Prepared by ejj	Checked by	Posted by	 Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Brewton Berry
138 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina

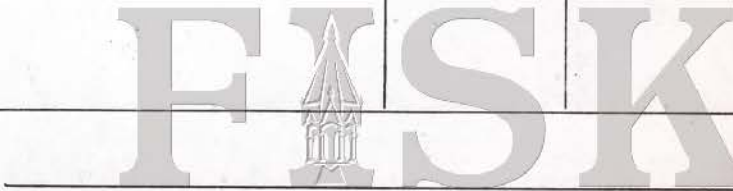
Payment Voucher No. 234

Date May 31, 1944

June installment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$166.66

Ck. #31053

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.66	

Prepared by	Checked by	Posted by	
ejj			

Comptroller

Julius Rosenwald Fund

4901 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO

FELLOWSHIPS

To Mr. Brewton Berry
138 East Russell Street
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Payment Voucher No. 8349

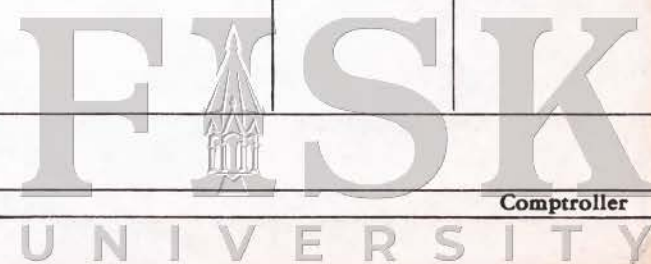
Date June 19, 1944

Final installment on fellowship grant - - - - - \$166.68

Chk. #31198

Accounts	Appropriation No.	Debit	Credit
White Southern Fellowships	42-5A	\$166.68	

Prepared by **ejj** Checked by Posted by



Comptroller

RHODE ISLAND STATE COLLEGE
KINGSTON, R. I.
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

FELLOWSHIPS

August 2, 1945.

UH	8/6	UH	8/20
DE		DE	0

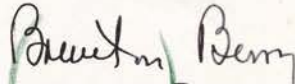
Julius Rosenwald Fund,
4901 Ellis Avenue,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs:

I am enclosing herewith two copies of an article of mine on "The Mestizos of South Carolina", recently published in the American Journal of Sociology. This is the first published report on the study I made in 1943-1944 for which I had been awarded a Rosenwald fellowship. I have additional copies of this article, if you should want others.

The data I collected are being worked into manuscript form for a book, which I hope to be able to complete in another year.

Very truly yours,


Brewton Berry
Professor of Sociology

BB/M

FELLOWSHIPS

August 21, 1945

Dear Mr. Berry: Thank you for sending us the reprints of your article on "The Mestizos of South Carolina" which I read with much interest. We are glad to have them for our files.

We shall be looking forward to hearing of the publication of your book. Such an interesting and little-known group should certainly be documented before it is absorbed. The nuances of the Mestizos' status in a biracial system and the forces which are aiding their assimilation should be of great interest to sociologists and anthropologists as well as to persons in the field of race relations.

Sincerely yours,

VANDI V. HAYGOOD

Mrs. William C. Haygood
Acting Director for Fellowships

VH:RR

Mr. ~~Brewton Berry~~
Professor of Sociology
Rhode Island State College
Kingston, Rhode Island

FISK
UNIVERSITY

ELLOWSHIPS.

November 19, 1946

Dear Mr. Berry: Thank you very much
 for your reply to my
recent letter and for your generous offer
to help us stir up some likely candidates.
It was very good to have the biographical
information which you sent, and I hope
you will keep us informed about the progress
of the forthcoming book.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM C. HAYGOOD

WCH:rfl

Mr. James Brewton Berry
Department of Sociology
The Ohio State University
Columbus 10, Ohio

FISK
UNIVERSITY

FELLOWSHIPS

Orangeburg, S.C.
Observer
Sept. 3, 1943

Dr. Brewton Berry Heads Bond Drive Publicity



DR. BREWTON BERRY

Dr. Brewton Berry, on leave of absence from the University of Missouri to conduct sociological research in South Carolina for the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, Chicago, was appointed publicity director of the Third War Bond drive in Orangeburg county this

week by Chairman James M. Green.

Dr. Berry was born in Orangeburg and graduated from the Orangeburg high school in 1918. He finished Wofford college in 1922, Yale university in 1925, and the University of Edinburgh in 1929. He taught sociology at Ohio State university until 1931 when he joined the faculty at the University of Missouri. Now he is professor of sociology there and director of the Anthropological museum. He also is secretary of the Missouri Archaeological Society and editor of the Missouri Archaeologist.

Author of several books, he has had articles appearing in many well-known magazines. For research and publications in archaeology he has received two \$500 awards from the Social Science Research Council in New York and has been elected a Fellow of the Society for American Archaeology.