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Segregation in Job Hierarchies: West Virginia Coal Mining, 1906–1932

PRICE FISHBACK

When blacks began to leave the South, one of their first stops was the West Virginia coal fields. There they met with reasonable success. Until the Depression, high-paying machine jobs were open to them and job segregation had almost no impact on their wages, but management positions were off-limits with a few exceptions for all-black workforces. The findings suggest two patterns worth more attention in studies of other industries. (1) As economic theorists predict, black economic status rose and fell with expansions and contractions in coal mining. (2) White tastes for discrimination are better described by a dislike for subordination to blacks than by the Beckerian notion of dislike for physical proximity.

SEVERAL basic tenets are implicit in histories of black workers in the early twentieth-century United States: blacks generally were not in management positions; they were not given machine jobs; they were primarily in low-wage occupations; and they were given the dirtiest, most dangerous jobs. In sum, blacks were found at the bottom of the occupational structure.¹ Most studies focus on aggregate employment patterns based on census occupational data, often combining greatly different jobs within an industry into a single category. Few offer more than perfunctory analysis of black positions in the occupational hierarchy within industries.²

Because blacks in 1900 were in the early stages of leaving agriculture

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¹ For example, see Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, 2 vols. (New York, 1972); Lorenzo Greene and Carter Woodson, *The Negro Wage Earner* (Washington, D.C., 1930); Charles Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization* (New York, 1930); and Sterling Spero and Abram Harris, *The Black Worker* (New York, 1930). More recently researchers have provided some revisions to these beliefs, using census data showing that blacks increasingly obtained skilled jobs over time. See Gary Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination*, 2d. ed. (Chicago, 1971), pp. 135–52, and Edward Meeker and James Kau, "Racial Discrimination and Occupational Attainment at the Turn of the Century," *Explorations in Economic History*, 14 (July 1977), 250–76.

² There are some exceptions. Spero and Harris in *The Black Worker* and Myrdal's appendices in an *American Dilemma* go into greater detail on specific industries. See also Herbert Northrup and Richard Rowan, eds., *Negro Employment in Southern Industry: A Study of Racial Policies in Five Industries* (Philadelphia, 1970).

and had entered relatively few industries, we miss much of the movement of blacks within the job hierarchy. Do the tenets regarding black workers hold for the occupational hierarchy within industries? Are there important aspects of jobs missed in using aggregated job categories? Does it matter whether black employment in a given industry rose or fell, or whether the industry expanded or contracted? To address these questions, this study focuses on the job hierarchy in the coal industry, a leading employer of black nonagricultural workers (about 3 percent of the U.S. total). In particular, I focus on West Virginia mining from 1906 to 1932 because it was often a first stop for blacks after leaving agriculture, and it became an increasingly important employer of blacks. Black and total employment in West Virginia mines expanded up to the mid-1920s, before declining through the depth of the Depression.

Although contemporary researchers considered coal jobs to be semi-skilled and dangerous, the jobs paid reasonably well and a job hierarchy based on the four basic tenets can be found within the industry.³ A wage hierarchy existed in the mines, reflecting differences in skill, responsibility, and risk. Changes in mining technology created "machine" jobs, like those of machine cutter and motorman, which replaced the traditional jobs of pick miner and mule driver. Increasing specialization led to increased division of labor and more management positions in the mines.

Previously analyzed evidence on occupational segregation in the West Virginia coal industry is mixed. Opinions in oral histories differ. For example, some suggest that the machine-cutter job was open only to whites; others disagree.⁴ In an analysis of segregation in the West Virginia hierarchy, James Laing showed that native whites were more concentrated in company and machine jobs, immigrants and blacks in loading jobs. He suggested that these differences might have resulted from preference or from lack of opportunity.⁵ Because most of Laing's information came from the era of the Great Depression, his results may not accurately describe earlier periods when coal mining was expanding. By combining occupational statistics from coal mining accidents in pre-Depression periods with Laing's data and analyzing both sets statistically, I extend study of the coal hierarchy to the hand-loading era when coal mining expanded.

Two major findings emerge. First, blacks were not denied the most

³ Price Fishback, "Employment Conditions of Blacks in the Coal Industry, 1900-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1983), pp. 91-96.

⁴ These impressions come from a series of interviews from the West Virginia Oral History Project at the West Virginia Sound Archives, West Virginia Regional and History Collection, West Virginia University Library. For more detail about the interviews see Fishback, "Employment Conditions," pp. 238-39.

⁵ James T. Laing, "The Negro Miner in West Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1933), pp. 193-97.

sought after position in the mines, that of machine cutter, during expansionary periods in the coal industry. This suggests a reinterpretation of the black exodus from mining and agriculture in the 1930s and 1940s. Some writers concluded that blacks were pushed out of coal mining in the 1930s and 1940s because they were denied machine-loading jobs.⁶ Myrdal suggested a similar interpretation of the introduction of the tractor in agriculture.⁷ But each of these instances both black employment and total employment were declining. My finding that blacks were allowed into machine jobs in pre-Depression periods of expanding employment suggests that the ability to discriminate was constrained by labor supply and demand conditions. There is also another possibility. Discrimination may not have pushed blacks out of these endeavors; they may have been pulled out by better opportunities elsewhere, as suggested by Becker's finding that blacks moved into skilled and semiskilled jobs at a faster rate than did whites in the 1930s and 1940s.⁸

Second, until the Depression there was little segregation along wage lines, yet there was segregation at the management level that was almost insensitive to market conditions. The form of white tastes for discrimination therefore seems to have been more an unwillingness to take orders from blacks, as suggested by Dewey's first law,⁹ and less the distaste for physical proximity that is implicit in Becker's discussion of discrimination.

DETERMINANTS OF ETHNIC EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS: EXPERIENCE AND DISCRIMINATION

Experience was an important determinant of positioning in the job hierarchy for two reasons. First, for nearly all jobs in the mines, on-the-job training was the primary means of increasing productivity, but the experience required for competency declined over time and was never great. Early in the period, it might have taken the underground jack-of-all-trades, the pick miner, as long as four years to become a competent miner. As the cutting machine spread and the division of labor inside the mines increased, the training period was shortened to one to two years.¹⁰ Most of the training consisted of developing skills for performing the job effectively without accidents.

⁶ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, pp. 1113-14; Donald Barnum, "The Negro in the Bituminous Coal Industry" in Rowan and Northrup, eds., *Negro Employment*, p. 29; Herbert Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (New York, 1944), pp. 161, 169.

⁷ Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, pp. 259-61.

⁸ Becker, *Economics of Discrimination*, pp. 135-52.

⁹ Donald Dewey, "Negro Employment in Southern Industry," *Journal of Political Economy*, 60 (Aug. 1952), 283.

¹⁰ Contemporary employment researchers considered hand loading and most day jobs like timbermen and trackman to be semiskilled. Alba Edwards, "Social Economic Groups of the

Second, as miners gained experience, managers were better able to assess their responsibility and dependability. These were important attributes for machine jobs in which the worker handled valuable capital equipment and for many day jobs, like that of motorman, which affected the performance of several other workers. In union mines, seniority played a major role in promotions, although in the area analyzed here, most of the mines were non-union for most of the period.¹¹

Blacks and native whites throughout the period had about the same mean level of experience. Southern Europeans started with much less experience but caught up after the closing of immigration. These patterns are suggested by comparisons of the mean experience of mine accident victims from various ethnic groups. The mean experience of blacks killed in West Virginia mine accidents rose from 6.7 years in the five-year period 1906–1910 to 10.6 years in 1921–1925. Mean experience for native whites rose similarly from 7.4 years to 9.9 years. In each of the four five-year periods between 1906 and 1925, the black and native-white experience levels were not significantly different in differences-of-means tests. Southern Europeans started much lower, at 3.2 years in 1906–1910 (the period of peak immigration) but caught up so that by 1921–1925 they averaged 10.5 years of experience.¹²

Even with equal experience, discrimination can have an impact on ethnic job distributions. The impact differs for two posited forms of the taste for discrimination: (1) white refusal to take orders from blacks and (2) white dislike of physical proximity to blacks, implicit in Becker's model.

The former, Dewey's first law—which he used to describe southern employment patterns in the 1940s and 1950s—posits a very explicit white preference for discrimination: White refusal to be directly subordinate to blacks. This implies a specific pattern of occupational segregation. The only closed jobs are found at management levels. Where blacks are managers, they manage a primarily black workforce.

United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (June 1917), 647. For a more extended discussion of the various jobs and skills in coal mining, see Fishback, "Employment Conditions," pp. 241–53; Keith Dix, *Work Relations in the Coal Industry: The Hand-Loading Era, 1880–1930* (Morgantown, West Virginia, 1978); Carter Goodrich, *The Miner's Freedom* (Boston, 1925; reprinted New York, 1977); and Edward Hunt, F. G. Tryon, and Joseph Willits, eds., *What the Coal Commission Found* (Baltimore, 1925)

¹¹ Despite attempts by the United Mine Workers (UMW) to organize the region, paid-up membership in the UMW accounted for less than 10 percent of the coal miners in West Virginia until World War I. The figure then jumped to 30 percent, but fell to 22 percent by 1923 and still lower thereafter (U.S. Coal Commission, *Report*, p. 1052). The unions were most successful in northern West Virginia and also Kanawha County in southern West Virginia.

¹² Price Fishback, "Discrimination on Nonwage Margins: Safety in the West Virginia Coal Industry, 1906–1925," University of Georgia College of Business Administration Working Paper, 83-146, p. 27. These figures give only a rough idea of the relative experience of these ethnic groups, underestimating the actual experience levels. The paper listed above uses the entire experience distribution to discuss the interaction of safety discrimination and experience.

In Becker's work on discrimination, a posited white dislike of physical proximity to blacks implies that discrimination will cause segregation along wage and skill lines as well as at the management level.¹³ In his empirical work Becker suggests that segregation along wage lines in the job hierarchy is a manifestation of wage discrimination.¹⁴ In the sense that managers typically are paid higher wages, even a lack of blacks in management is a form of segregation along wage lines.

DEFINING RANDOMNESS IN THE JOB DISTRIBUTION

A chi-square test for contingency tables with two categories, job and ethnic group, is used to test for the randomness of the distribution of ethnic groups among particular job categories.¹⁵ A nonrandom distribution suggests that differences in experience or discriminatory factors affected the distribution of ethnic groups among the major job categories. Four ethnic and racial groups are used: blacks, native whites, Southern Europeans (new immigrants) and Northern Europeans (old immigrants).¹⁶

The tests are performed at two levels. The first explores segregation for each job across all ethnic categories. Segregation in a particular job, say, motorman, is defined in terms of a chi-square for a contingency table with four ethnic groups and two jobs, motorman and a composite of all other jobs.¹⁷ If the null hypothesis of randomness for this two-by-four table is rejected at a significance level of 5 percent by a chi-square statistic with three degrees of freedom, the motorman job can be said to have been closed to some group or groups. If it is not rejected, the motorman job can be defined as open to all groups.¹⁸

¹³ Dewey also suggested the concept of distaste for proximity in his second law, which states that whites generally did not work alongside blacks except in the most menial jobs (Dewey, "Negro Employment," p. 283).

¹⁴ In his theoretical work Becker assumes one job. In his empirical work he indicates that the concentration of blacks in less skilled jobs is consistent with his discussion of wage discrimination (Becker, *Economics of Discrimination*, pp. 135-52).

¹⁵ The contingency tables can also be described in the context of a multinomial distribution (Robert Hogg and Elliot Tanis, *Probability and Statistical Inference* [New York, 1977], pp. 352-57).

¹⁶ See also Paul McGouldrick and Michael Tannen, "Did American Manufacturers Discriminate Against Immigrants before 1914?," this JOURNAL 37 (Sept. 1977), 723-46; Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1952); Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Boston, 1948); Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnic* (New York, 1971).

¹⁷ Ransom and Sutch created a segregation measure for blacks and whites in the cotton South based on the binomial distribution. I choose not to use their measure for two reasons. First, there are three or four relevant ethnic groups involved in the coal industry; therefore, a statistic based on a multinomial distribution is more appropriate. Second, Ransom and Sutch's measure is not sensitive to sample size (Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom* [Cambridge, 1977], pp. 220-31).

¹⁸ The statistic measured here is not a perfectly accurate description of the job assignment process. For each job it is assumed that the employer makes the choice between that job and all

Potentially, there are differences in the treatment of blacks and Southern Europeans in hiring for a particular job. If the motorman job were closed, it might be open for one group and not the other. To define open and closed jobs for blacks (or Southern Europeans), the second level of measures compares blacks (or Southern Europeans) with the nonvictims of discrimination, a group composed of Northern European immigrants and native whites. For blacks, a contingency table is created with two ethnic groups: blacks and the combined group of native white and Northern European workers. Continuing with the motorman example, the table would also include two jobs, the motorman and the composite of all other jobs. In this case, we are assuming that decisions are made to fill the jobs with blacks and native whites first, then Southern Europeans are used to fill the remaining slots. Similar contingency tables are created for Southern Europeans.

A job is considered an *open* job for blacks or Southern Europeans if the chi-square test for the contingency table does not reject a null hypothesis of randomness at the 95 percent level. If the test rejects the null hypothesis, the job is defined as a *black* job when the percentage black of the grouping of blacks, native whites, and Northern Europeans in the job exceeds the same percentage in the composite of all other jobs. It is a *nonblack* job when the reverse is true. *Southern European* and *non-Southern European* jobs are defined by replacing black in the definitions above with Southern European. Note that the definitions refer to comparisons of blacks (or Southern Europeans) with native whites and Northern Europeans; therefore, the same job can be black and Southern European at the same time in cases when both groups are overrepresented relative to native whites and Northern Europeans.

WEST VIRGINIA DATA

Ethnic representation in the job hierarchy in West Virginia is based on Laing's survey data for the early Depression years, employment data from West Virginia mining reports, and the occupational information in West Virginia accident reports from 1906 to 1925.

Laing's data for 1932 appear to be representative of the labor market in southern West Virginia in 1932. Almost 90 percent of the black miners in West Virginia were located in this area in 1932. Laing chose to study

other jobs first and then makes assignments of workers to the jobs included among all other jobs. Since this assumption is used to describe the assignment process for each job, we miss some of the interdependence of job assignments. A similar caveat is relevant to the comparisons for blacks (southern Europeans) and native whites and northern Europeans that follow in the text. A chi-square that would capture all of the interdependencies is one for a contingency table with all four ethnic groups and all fifteen major jobs, but it provides information only about overall segregation and little on segregation in each job.

the area by gathering survey information from twenty representative operations in six counties.¹⁹ Included in his sample of miners were 714 foreign born, 2,713 native white, and 1,835 black miners.

The ethnic breakdown of employment inside and outside the mines prior to 1932 comes directly from employment data of the West Virginia Department of Mines for various years. For each year from 1907 to 1925 the number of workers employed inside the mines, outside the mines, and in the coke yard was reported by county for each ethnic group.

The hierarchies for jobs inside the mines from 1906 to 1925 are derived from data on individuals killed from 1906 to 1925 and workers seriously injured from 1906 to 1915. When a miner was killed or seriously injured, the mine management was expected to fill out a report on the accident and send it to the West Virginia Department of Mines. Much of the information was then published in the department's Annual Report. I recorded the victim number, nationality, mining experience, age, occupation, marital status, type of accident, and whether the accident occurred inside or outside the mine. To reduce the problems associated with geographical segregation, only workers from counties in West Virginia that employed more than one hundred black workers in a particular year were selected for that year.²⁰

Workers in the sample are classified into four groups: blacks, native whites, Northern Europeans, and Southern Europeans.²¹ The various contingency tables are set up for four different periods: 1906–1910, 1911–1915, 1916–1920, and 1921–1925. The periods are similar in that at

¹⁹ The counties he surveyed were McDowell, Mercer, Raleigh, Fayette, Logan, and Kanawha (Laing, "The Negro Miner," p. 12).

²⁰ Including counties where few blacks were employed adds noise to tests for differences in the job hierarchy, especially since the job hierarchy was similar in all parts of the state. Prior to 1910 blacks were concentrated in southern West Virginia, but black employment began to spread throughout the state. This is reflected in the following list of counties and the years in which the counties are included: McDowell in 1906–1925; Fayette in 1906–1925; Raleigh in 1906–1925; Mercer in 1906–1925; Kanawha in 1906–1925; Harrison in 1906–1925; Mingo in 1906–1925; Logan in 1906–1925; Marion in 1906–1925; Putnam in 1906–1909, 1912–1916; Preston in 1906; Wyoming in 1916–1925; Ohio in 1920, 1922–1925; Brooke in 1920–1925; Barbour in 1916, 1918–1925; Greenbrier in 1922, 1924, 1925; Monongalia in 1920–1925; and Clay 1922–1924. I made exceptions to the 100-black-minimum rule for Harrison in 1910, 1911, 1913, and 1914 and Marion in 1910. Since these counties exceeded the minimum in all other years listed, I felt that they should be treated as part of the labor market where blacks were employed throughout. This selection of counties generally included 97 percent of the black miners, 85 percent of native white miners, and 83 percent of the Southern European miners in the state.

Workers killed in disastrous accidents killing four or more people, primarily explosions, also are excluded from the samples. There are few such accidents, but each killed a large group of workers. A sample including such an accident is affected to a large degree by the policies and actions of a single mine. If this mine were not representative of the rest of mines, false conclusions about the general conditions in the state would be drawn.

²¹ The division between Southern Europeans and Northern Europeans is similar to that used by McGouldrick and Tannen in "Did American Manufacturers Discriminate?" Northern Europeans included Canadians, Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Norwegian, Scotch, Swedish, Swiss, and Welsh. Any other nationality is included under the "catchall" group, Southern European. For more details see Fishback, "Employment Conditions," p. 232.

least one cyclical peak and one trough in the demand for coal occurred in each. They differ for several reasons. The spread of machine-cutting technology changed the organization of jobs within the mines. The demand for coal was characterized by rapid expansion in the first and third periods and by the beginnings of demand stagnation in the second and fourth periods.²² Black employment increased in three of the four periods, declining only in 1911–1915.²³ Finally, the structure of the labor market changed. Unions had little strength early in the period. They gained more strength during World War I, although their control declined as the demand for coal stagnated and then fell during the 1920s and early 1930s.²⁴

To be included in the sample, a worker had to be killed or seriously injured. Unsafe occupations, individuals with less experience, and groups discriminated against through placement in riskier positions are, therefore, “overrepresented” in the sample. This sample bias toward unsafe occupations is a problem primarily when one compares inside and outside jobs. Most of the inside jobs were similarly dangerous, but as a group they were much more dangerous than jobs outside the mines.²⁵ This bias can be corrected by using the more complete data on the employment of all groups inside and outside the mines derived from the West Virginia Department of Mines annual reports on employment.

The bias toward overrepresentation of less experienced workers and ethnic groups that were discriminated against is also easily handled. It is less of a problem for comparisons of blacks and native whites. I have shown elsewhere that the accident data are consistent with the joint hypothesis that blacks and whites had similar experience and that blacks were not discriminated against on the safety margin except in the World War I half-decade, when blacks had greater experience. These results are implied by the nearly identical fatality-experience profiles of the two groups.²⁶

For the first three time periods in the safety study, Southern Europeans had less experience than native whites and blacks, and

²² Fishback, “Employment Conditions,” pp. 44–50.

²³ Laing, “Negro Miner,” p. 94.

²⁴ Unlike most trade unions, the UMW accepted black workers as equals in its national constitution, but the union lacked strength where most blacks were located and there were instances of attempts at discrimination by union locals. See Fishback, “Employment Conditions,” pp. 56–60 and sources cited there.

²⁵ Very rough calculations of accident rate indices for inside jobs suggest that machine runners (10.0), motormen (12.2), pick miners and loaders (11.5), drivers (12.0), and bratticemen and timbermen (9.8) faced similar risks. The brakeman’s job (21.8) was most dangerous, whereas trackmen (6.8), pumpmen (4.8), and inside laborers (2.6) faced the least risk. The problems with bias toward unsafe occupations inside the mines are minimized by examining each job sample individually as in the job-specific chi-square measures rather than examining the entire job structure. Details on these accident indices are available in my Working Paper 84-147, cited above.

²⁶ Fishback, “Discrimination on Nonwage Margins.” A fatality-experience (FE) profile is the distribution of workers killed across experience levels.

TABLE 1
CLASSIFICATION OF BLACK AND NONBLACK JOBS, 1906-1910 TO 1932

	Period				
	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1932
<i>Black Jobs</i>					
Driver	B	B	B	B	B
Miner	B	B	B	B	?
Slateman	O	B	B	B	?
<i>Nonblack Jobs</i>					
Motorman	N	N	O	N	N
Boss	N	N	N	N	?
Bratticeman & timberman	?	N	?	N	?
Tippleman	O	N	?	?	N
<i>Open Jobs</i>					
Machine runner	O ⁿ	N	O	O	N
Brakeman	N	O	O	B	O
Loader	N	N	O	O ^b	B
Trackman	N	O ⁿ	O ⁿ	N	O
Laborer	B	O	O	O	?
Machine helper	O	O	O	O	?

Notes and legend: B = black job

O = open job

N = nonblack job

? = unknown, total sample size less than 25 prior to 1932. For 1932 it means not measured.

ⁿ Nonblack job if the definition used 10 percent as the significance level.

^b Black job if the definition used 10 percent as the significance level.

Source: See text.

therefore are overrepresented in the entire sample and that of any particular job. Conversely, during World War I blacks, who had greater experience than whites, are underrepresented. The segregation measure described earlier limits this sample bias by comparing ethnic employment in a particular job to ethnic employment in the remaining jobs in the sample, not the entire mining population. Using this technique to test for segregation is unbiased under the assumption that the danger in each job is affected by less experience and discrimination in the same manner as it is in the rest of the jobs.

Table 1 summarizes black segregation in the West Virginia coal job hierarchy by showing the periods in which the jobs were open, and whether they were black or nonblack jobs. Table 2 describes Southern European segregation similarly. Table 3 shows the data on which the entries in Tables 1 and 2 for 1916-1920 are based. Tables of similar data are available from the author.

THE FINDINGS

The analysis of West Virginia data suggests that the wage tenet of segregation—that blacks were primarily in low-wage jobs—does not

TABLE 2
CLASSIFICATION OF SOUTHERN EUROPEAN
AND NON-SOUTHERN EUROPEAN JOBS

Job Class	Period				
	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1932
<i>Southern European</i>					
Miner	S	S	S	S	?
Loader	S	S	S	S	S
<i>Non-Southern European</i>					
Motorman	N	N	N	N	N
Brakeman	N	N	N	N	N
Boss	N	N	N	N	?
Driver	N	N	O	N	?
Machine helper	N	O	N	N	?
Tippleman	O ⁿ	N	?	?	N
<i>Open</i>					
Machine runner	N	N	O	O	N
Bratticeman & timberman	?	O	?	O	?
Slateman	S	S	O	O	?
Laborer	S	O	O	O	?
Trackman	O ⁿ	N	O ⁿ	O	O ⁿ

Notes and legend: S = Southern European job

O = open job

N = non-Southern European job

? = unknown, total sample size less than 25 if prior to 1932. For 1932 it means not measured.

ⁿ Job would not be open if the definition used 10 percent as the significant level.

Source: See text.

hold. The results for the machine tenet are mixed; blacks apparently were not denied the best job in the mines, machine cutter, but there was some segregation along machine lines in transportation jobs. Both blacks and Southern Europeans were found more often than whites in inside jobs, which were dirtier and more dangerous than jobs outside the mines. Yet inside work was rewarded with higher pay, and Laing has suggested that both groups sought these jobs. The one tenet that appears to hold unequivocally is the management tenet. Educational differences do not appear to be enough to explain the lack of black managers.

Before further discussion, a caveat is in order. The results here are an aggregate picture of the mine-labor market in West Virginia counties where blacks were found. The situation varied among mines in response to the attitudes of both mine owners and mine operators. It appears that blacks did best where they were most concentrated, a result that is consistent with an economic model in which the taste for discrimination varies among mines.²⁷

²⁷ Laing, "Negro Miner," pp. 198-201; Fishback, "Employment Conditions," pp. 295-98.

TABLE 3
WEST VIRGINIA JOB HIERARCHY, 1916-1920

Job	Total Number in Sample	Percentages of Workers in the Job				Segregation Statistics		
		American White	Northern European	Black	Southern European	General ^a	Black ^b	Southern ^b European
Machine runner	61	47.5	4.9	16.4	31.1	4.36	0.58	0.02
Miner	583	35.7	1.5	21.1	41.7	86.67**	12.09**	87.09**
Loader	153	36.0	0.0	16.3	47.7	31.25**	0.18	26.42**
Driver	63	39.7	0.0	36.5	23.8	10.71**	8.63**	0.02
Motorman	83	69.9	1.2	19.3	9.6	19.51**	2.33	18.27**
Trackman	49	65.3	2.0	12.2	20.4	5.89	3.69*	3.28*
Bratticeman & timberman	21	66.7	9.5	4.8	19.1	c	c	c
Brakeman	162	61.7	0.0	29.6	8.6	41.96**	0.93	31.49**
Pumpman	8	50.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	c	c	c
Laborer	56	48.2	3.6	25.0	23.2	2.25	0.26	0.55
Machine helper	38	73.7	7.9	18.4	8.1	10.84**	2.17	11.29**
Slateman	35	31.4	2.9	31.4	34.3	4.80	3.99**	1.98
Tippleman	19	79.0	0.0	21.1	0.0	c	c	c
Boss	45	77.8	4.4	8.9	8.9	19.49**	7.70**	12.93**
Other	168	66.1	3.6	15.5	14.9			
Total	1,544	48.7	1.8	20.7	28.8	290.90**		

^a The general segregation statistic for each job corresponds with the first measurement level described in the text. It is the chi-square statistic for a contingency table with the four ethnic groups and two jobs, the job in the row and a composite of all other jobs. The chi-square with all jobs and the four ethnic groups discussed in footnote 18 is listed in the row for the total.

^b Chi-square statistic for a contingency table with two jobs, the job in the row and a composite of all other jobs, and two ethnic groups, black (Southern European) and a combination of native whites and Northern Europeans. This corresponds with the second level of measurement described in the text.

^c Not reported for jobs with fewer than 25 workers sampled.

* Test statistic exceeds the rejection value for 10 percent significance.

** Not an open job because the segregation statistic rejects the null hypothesis that the percentages are the same at the 95 percent level.

Source: Aggregated from information on workers killed and injured in West Virginia. West Virginia Department of Mines, *Annual Report*, for the years between 1906 and 1925. The sample is from the counties listed in footnote 20. Differences between these tables and those appearing in Fishback, "Employment Conditions," pp. 281-85, are the result of the deletion of several minor counties that had fewer than 100 black workers from the accident sample.

Segregation Along Wage Lines

The wage hierarchy in West Virginia coal mining is depicted in Table 4 for the major jobs in the mines. Indexes for average earnings per hour, per start, and per half-month, with motormen's earnings as the base, are derived from data collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in the early 1920s. One unusual comparison that conflicts with other evidence should be noted. Mule drivers in the mines were paid more per hour than motormen, according to the BLS data. Coal Commission data on West Virginia wages in the early 1920s, however, show that drivers were paid less than motormen.²⁸ Of other positions not listed, foremen earned the highest hourly wages. In many cases foremen earned less per hour than machine men, and in some cases less than the best loaders and pick miners. But foremen received a yearly salary and were paid during short-term shutdowns of the mine. Slatemen were usually paid about the same as brakemen and pumpmen, while helpers for day jobs were usually paid more than laborers but less than workers in the specific jobs.

The earnings listed probably underestimate the attractiveness of the miner's and loader's jobs, since these piece-rate workers were allowed much greater latitude in their work decisions and in making labor-leisure choices than were daymen. The decline in the miners' and loaders' relative earnings as we move from hourly to half-monthly earnings is more a reflection of piece-rate workers choosing leisure over labor than a decline in the welfare of these workers.²⁹

Comparisons of job hierarchy tables (for example, Table 3 here) and the wage rankings in Table 4 suggest that segregation along wage lines was not important except during the Great Depression. In three of the four non-Depression half decades the highest-paying job, machine runner, was open to blacks, and even in the remaining period blacks were about 14 percent of the machine miners and only 19 percent of all workers. Furthermore, they were present in the mining and loading jobs, which paid higher wages both per hour and per start and allowed a worker to have greater control over labor-leisure choices. Within the day jobs there appears to have been some segregation along wage lines. Although the driver's job was black, the other jobs that paid similar or better wages were nonblack. The open jobs of laborer and brakeman were at the bottom of the inside day-job wage rankings. Despite the blacks' lower standing in the day jobs, the overall impact of occupational segregation on black wages was generally small.

Table 5 presents a very rough approximation of the impact of

²⁸ U. S. Coal Commission, *Report, Part, 5: Atlas of Statistical Tables*, 68th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, D.C., 1925), pp. 218–30.

²⁹ For an extended discussion of this point see Fishback, "Segregation in the Job Hierarchies," Working Paper 84-147 in the University of Georgia, College of Business Administration Series.

TABLE 4
WAGE RANKINGS, WEST VIRGINIA JOB HIERARCHY, 1919, 1921-1922, 1924
(motorman's earnings = 100)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Earnings per Hour</i>	<i>Earnings per Start^a</i>	<i>Earnings per Half-month</i>
<i>Inside Job</i>			
Machine runner	167.5	170.3	155.6
Hand or pick miner ^b	120.8	106.1	90.8
Loader ^b	117.5	100.2	85.0
Cager	104.9	108.1	96.1
Mule driver	102.5	96.0	86.0
Motorman	100.0	100.0	100.0
Trackman	99.3	97.0	95.7
Bratticeman & timberman	98.1	95.5	94.0
Brakeman	93.3	90.3	82.4
Pumpman	91.9	96.6	111.4
Laborer	87.4	82.6	75.9
Trapper	62.1	57.9	53.0
<i>Outside Job</i>			
Blacksmith	110.3	109.6	119.8
Carpenter	99.9	98.8	106.6
Engineer	90.9	104.2	134.9
Fireman	80.4	97.5	112.5
Laborer	76.5	74.6	78.4

^a Piece-rate workers had flexible hours. A start is a day in which the worker was recorded as working in the mine. For most of the workers, starts and days are synonymous. Pick miners and loaders, however, who were paid by the piece, often chose to work fewer hours. This choice is reflected by the lower indexes for per-start earnings than for hourly earnings.

^b The wages of pick miners and loaders were lowered by 3 percent because they purchased their own picks and shovels. The 3 percent figure comes from the U. S. Coal Commission finding that families in the Kanawha and New River districts in West Virginia spent about 5 percent of their incomes on "hardware and miners' supplies." Such miners' supplies included boots, carbide, lamps, and dinner pails, which were purchased by all coal workers, as well as picks and shovels. Since other hardware is also included in this category, it seems reasonable to attribute 2 to 3 percent of earnings to purchases of picks and shovels. U.S. Senate, U.S. Coal Commission, *Report*, pt. 3, 68th Congress, 2nd session (Washington, D.C., 1925), p. 1456.

^c The motormen's hourly wage was \$0.520 in 1919, \$0.815 in 1921-1922, and \$0.752 in 1924. The motormen's average hourly wage is given a value of 100 in each of the three years. The wage index of each occupation in each year is then calculated relative to that figure. To create the overall index for each job, the index of the occupation for each year is weighted by the number of mines reporting wages for that occupation in each year. A similar procedure was followed for the half-monthly earnings and earnings per start, except that data for 1919 were not available for earnings per start.

Source: Compiled from U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin: Hours and Earnings in Bituminous and Anthracite Coal Mining*, No. 279, pp. 54-71; No. 316, pp. 35-50; No. 415, pp. 44-52. Wage data were gathered from the payrolls of 13 mines in 1918, 47 mines in 1921-1922, and 142 mines in the coal depression year of 1924. For day men, who were paid by the hour, the wage reported was the hourly wage rate. For tonnage men—pickminers, loaders, and machine miners who were paid piece-rates—the hourly wage was calculated by dividing their net earnings—expenses for explosives and tool sharpening were subtracted—by the amount of time they spent in the mine. Since tonnage men took breaks while in the mine, this measure probably underestimates their hourly wage by overestimating the time spent working.

TABLE 5
THE IMPACT OF SEGREGATION IN THE JOB HIERARCHY ON THE RATIO OF AVERAGE EARNINGS

Years	Ratio of Constructed Earnings (assumes no ethnic wage differentials within a job category)					
	Black/Native White			Southern European/Native White		
	Hourly	Per Start	Half-Month	Hourly	Per Start	Half-Month
1906-1910	1.006	0.993	0.974	1.027	0.978	0.941
1911-1915	0.990	0.979	0.965	1.021	0.980	0.947
1916-1920	1.001	0.991	0.980	1.041	1.007	0.977
1921-1925	1.008	0.992	0.975	1.036	0.998	0.968
1932*	0.986	0.959	0.941	1.015	0.965	0.939

Source and Notes: The average wages underlying these ratios were constructed in the following manner for each ethnic group:

$$\sum_{i=1}^8 \left(\frac{W_i \cdot P_i \cdot N_i}{100} \right) / \left(\sum_{i=1}^8 P_i \cdot N_i \right)$$

W_i = wage index for job category i from Table 4.

P_i = the percentage of workers in the job category i that were in the ethnic group. From Table 3 and the other tables underlying Tables 1 and 2; see my Working Paper 84-147 for these percentages.

N_i = the number of workers in job category i from a complete mine job structure. The total employment figures in Tables 1 through 4 were not used because more dangerous jobs are overrepresented in the accident samples. The numbers are the number of workers sampled by the Department of Labor in their 1924 earnings survey of more than 140 West Virginia Mines. U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin: Hours and Earnings in Bituminous and Anthracite Coal Mining 1922 and 1924*, No. 416, pp. 44-48.

i = job category i . There were eight jobs included: machine runner, loader, miner, driver, motorman, brakeman, trackman, and laborer. Pumpman, bratticeman, and timberman were excluded because the samples in the accident statistics were too small. In 1932 all jobs listed in Table 6 except for the tippelman were included.

* For 1932 the employment figures, N_i , are the number of employees reported in Laing, "The Negro Miner." These figures came from Laing's full samples of the mining population, not from fatality samples, and thus were left alone.

segregation on the relative wages of blacks, Southern Europeans, and native whites. These wage ratios were constructed by assuming that all workers in a particular job received the same wage. They are based on the wage indexes in Table 4, the job structure of the mines in the 1924 BLS wage sample, and the ethnic and racial percentages of workers in each job in the rows of Tables 3 and other tables (not printed here) underlying Tables 1 and 2 (see the notes in Table 5 for more detail). Assuming the wage indexes are constant and the job structure remained the same across time, differences in the constructed wage ratios are caused by segregation in the job hierarchy. Of course, the job structure was more specialized, with more machine jobs in the early 1920s than in previous years. If the distribution of employees among jobs is adjusted for earlier years to include more of the old jobs, such as pick miner and driver, the constructed black wage increases by more than the native white wage in all earnings categories. Therefore, the ratio of black to white wages for the first three periods in Table 5 are underestimates of the correct ratio, which would be based on the actual job structure for those years.

Until the Depression, the job distribution had little impact on the constructed wage ratios for blacks and native whites. The hourly wage ratios of blacks and whites were nearly identical until the 1930s, when the wage differential caused by segregation was only 1.14 percent. A similar pattern is shown for earnings per start and half-monthly earnings. The ratios are slightly smaller, but differences in workers' labor-leisure decisions, especially for workers paid by the piece as opposed to those paid by the day, play a more important role as the change is made from hourly earnings to half-monthly earnings. Even the half-monthly differences were at most 3 percent until the Depression. Note also that the largest differentials for the non-Depression periods appear in the 1911–1915 period of stagnating black employment.

The constructed ratios for Southern European wages were similar to those for blacks with two exceptions. The job distributions suggest higher hourly average wages for Southern Europeans than for native whites throughout, and their earnings per start and per half-month were lower than those for blacks in the first period.

Inside Jobs: Dirtier and More Dangerous

Although most of the workers in each of the ethnic groups worked inside the mines, both blacks and Southern Europeans were more heavily represented inside than native whites. The percentage of native white workers employed inside the mines was greater than 70 percent but rose above 80 percent only once between 1907 and 1925. The percentage of black workers inside the mines stayed within a range of 85 to 91 percent for the same time period, whereas the inside percentage of

Southern European workers fell below 92 percent only twice.³⁰ In two of the three periods listed, the tippelman's job, the only outside job listed in Tables 1 to 3, was nonblack and non-Southern European.

The concentration of blacks and Southern Europeans inside probably did not stem from discrimination at the mines that forced these groups into dirtier and more dangerous jobs. Most of the artisans who were trained away from the mines (for example, blacksmiths and carpenters) worked outside the mines, and relatively few blacks and Southern Europeans in West Virginia were trained in these crafts.³¹ Further, the inside jobs paid higher wages than those outside, partly as a risk premium and partly in reward for obtaining the safety skills to work effectively inside the mine. Skilled artisans outside the mines were paid less than many semi-skilled inside workers; general laborers outside earned 14 percent less than their inside counterparts.

Laing argued that blacks and Southern Europeans preferred the piece-rate jobs of loading and pick mining, only available inside, and that blacks tried to avoid the close supervision that reminded them of slavery.³² Certainly the information on these jobs in the job hierarchy tables is consistent with Laing's assertion. The miner job was both a black and Southern European job in all time periods. The loader position was also a Southern European job throughout but was non-black in the first two periods and open for blacks until the Depression, when it became a black job. When the miner and loader jobs are combined into a grouping of piece-rate jobs, however, the grouping is a black and Southern European job in all time periods.³³

Machine Jobs

The tenet that machine jobs were denied to black workers is not generally supported for the highly paid machine-runner job, although it gets some support from the structure of transportation jobs. The pattern of machine-cutter segregation for blacks is inconsistent with the simple hypothesis that blacks were denied machine jobs. The desire to deny machine jobs to blacks may have existed, but its impact appears sensitive to labor-market conditions. Throughout the period, machine-cutter segregation and black employment trends followed a pattern suggesting less discrimination when labor demand grew faster than supply and greater discrimination when the reverse was true. In 1906–

³⁰ These figures were compiled from tables titled "Nationalities of Mine Employees Summarized," West Virginia Department of Mines, *Annual Reports* for the years from 1907 to 1925. For information on the percentage for specific years see Fishback, "Employment Conditions," p. 280.

³¹ Fishback, "Employment Conditions," p. 315.

³² Laing, "The Negro Miner," pp. 194, 202–07.

³³ The miner category in the sample probably includes both pick miners and loaders, since loaders were sometimes called machine miners. There is no reason to believe that the loader category contains pick miners; therefore, the loader samples, although smaller, should still be useful in determining the distribution of ethnic groups in loader jobs.

1910 when black employment and overall employment surged, the machine-cutter job was on the border between an open and a nonblack job despite geographical separation in the sample of blacks and machine mining.³⁴ Even though geographical separation of blacks and machine mining was reduced during the 1911–1915 period, the machine job was nonblack, as West Virginia black employment rose and then fell below its 1910 level and as real hourly wages in West Virginia mining stagnated. The machine job opened for blacks during the next decade when labor demand grew faster than supply, driving wages up until 1923.³⁵ Even as firms began cutting wages in the early 1920s, blacks benefited from the resulting labor strife because they were used as strikebreakers in northern West Virginia mines that earlier had employed primarily white unionized work forces.³⁶ The machine job became nonblack and black employment fell again with the decline in labor demand during the Depression.

The pattern of machine-job segregation for Southern Europeans was caused by the steady reduction of the gap in average experience between Southern Europeans and native whites and blacks. In the peak phases of Southern European immigration from 1900 to 1910, neither the machine-runner nor helper job was open to Southern Europeans. As the earlier immigrants gained experience, first the machine-helper job opened in 1911–1915, and then the machine-runner job opened from 1916 to 1925. The machine-helper job became non-Southern European again with a lag as the influx of immigrants slowed down. The machine-cutter job became non-Southern European again during the Depression, possibly as a result of an upsurge in discriminatory activity as workers competed for increasingly scarce jobs.

³⁴ Much of the uncertainty about the first period appears to be caused by geographical separation of blacks and machine mining rather than by intrafirm segregation along machine lines. In 1908 the correlation for counties in the sample between the percent black of all inside workers and the number of pick miners as a percentage of all pick miners and loaders was 0.82. Such geographical separation later became less pronounced as the correlation fell to 0.303 in 1913, 0.178 in 1918, and -0.043 in 1923. Intrafirm segregation along machine lines does not appear to have been widespread because the loader job was also nonblack during this period. Much of this geographical separation of machine cutting and blacks in 1906–1910 is attributable to the location of earlier black migration to the West Virginia coal regions prior to the widespread use of cutting machines. Laing (pp. 131–32) noted the existence of migratory pipelines between areas of origin and the coal fields. Their importance is suggested by the positive correlation, 0.588, between the percent black of inside workers in sample counties in 1908 and the percent black of the population in those counties in 1900. See footnote 20 for the counties included in the calculation of correlations in each year. The county data are from the West Virginia Department of Mines *Annual Report* and the census. Details on sources are available in UGACBA Working Paper 84-147.

³⁵ A summary of black employment patterns in West Virginia coal mining is found in Laing, "Negro Miner," p. 94. These figures, based on the West Virginia Department of Mines *Annual Reports*, also show that black employment rose generally until 1927, when it peaked and began declining. The discussion of wages is based on the daily wages reported for daymen in West Virginia mines from 1912 to 1923 in U.S. Coal Commission, *Report, Part V, Statistical Atlas*, pp. 208–26. In general, daily wages remained relatively constant in nominal and real terms until 1916, when they began rising markedly. They fell sharply in 1922 and then recovered in 1923.

³⁶ Spero and Harris, *The Black Worker*, pp. 224–27.

The machine tenet gains more support from the distribution of blacks and whites in the transportation day jobs. In nearly every period motorman was a nonblack job, whereas mule driver was a black job. Laing's surveys of operators' opinions show that blacks were perceived as less productive than whites as motormen because they were thought to be harder on the motor, yet they were known for the excellent care they gave their mules.³⁷ One anomaly for the machine tenet is that the brakeman job on the motor was an open job for blacks. Yet the brakeman fit the other tenets when compared with the motorman. It was both lower paying and more dangerous than the motorman job, as well as a subordinate position.

The management tenet also may provide a partial explanation of the pattern of haulage jobs as a whole. Not only were brakemen subordinate to motormen, but drivers also were subordinate to the motormen. As the motorman was responsible for the train of cars on the main entryway, he probably took charge of the hooking up of the cars brought by the driver from the rooms to the main line. If Dewey's first law is suggestive of the prevailing form of the taste for discrimination, the motorman should have been a nonblack job with the brakeman and driver either open or black jobs. Where there were black motormen we should see black drivers and brakemen because whites preferred not to be directly subordinate to blacks. Not only is the actual segregation pattern in the haulage job categories consistent with this hypothesis, but Laing found that blacks who became motormen more often drove the small gathering motors that brought cars to the mainline than the mainline motors.³⁸

Management Jobs

Segregation appears most prevalent at the management level. In all periods, the management positions were non-Southern European and nonblack jobs. From 1906 to 1925, only nine black bosses out of 248 bosses were found in the accident sample. These findings were confirmed by other sources. Of 9,000 black workers in Laing's 1932 survey, there were "only eleven cases of Negroes in positions which, even by the most liberal stretch of the term, could be called positions of authority."³⁹ Other surveys conducted by the West Virginia Bureau of Negro Welfare and Statistics found only seven bosses among 6,483 black workers surveyed in 1922, and only one fire boss among more than 7,000 black workers surveyed in 1927.⁴⁰

³⁷ Laing, "Negro Miner," pp. 241-47.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁴⁰ West Virginia Bureau of Negro Welfare and Statistics, *Report, 1921-1922*, p. 58; 1927-1928, p. 16. There were several black owners of small mines in the late 1800s. Charles Simmons, John Rankin, and U. G. Carter, "Negro Coal Miners in West Virginia, 1875-1925," *Midwest Journal* 6 (Spring 1954), pp. 6-7.

The lack of black managers cannot be ascribed to blacks' inexperience, for blacks had equal or greater experience than whites. Two important factors help explain blacks' absence in managerial positions: discrimination in education outside the mines and discrimination at the mines in accordance with Dewey's first law.

Management jobs were the only jobs that required at least a common-school and possibly a high school education.⁴¹ The separate but often unequal school systems in nearly all southern states gave whites in mining an increased advantage after 1910, when foremen and fire bosses were required to pass written examinations.⁴² The test, however, did not completely replace experience as a determinant of promotability. The foreman was still required to have five years of experience, and the test could be passed by someone with mining experience and no college training.⁴³ Whites gained an added advantage when the white state universities began offering mining extension courses around the time of World War I.⁴⁴ Blacks were not offered the same training until U.G. Carter started an extension course for blacks at all-black West Virginia State College in 1937. Before 1937 only nine blacks had received mine foreman papers.⁴⁵

The almost total absence of black managers and the racial composition of the workforce that those few managed are consistent with the discriminatory tastes suggested by Dewey's first law, more so than with the discrimination that denied blacks higher wages. White dislike of subordination to black bosses is illustrated for West Virginia by one of a number of quotations concerning black bosses from Laing's interviews of operators in West Virginia:

I have seen but very few Negroes whom I felt inclined to give positions of responsibility to and if I felt so inclined to place them in a position of authority this act would be resented by other employees. This same reason prevents the Negro from getting a job on motor runs, plans runs, fire bosses or other positions of the nature. The management

⁴¹ United States Bureau of Mines, prepared for the Department of Labor, *Descriptions of Occupations: Mines and Mining* (Washington, D.C., 1918), p. 20.

⁴² West Virginia Mining districts may have been an exception. Educational expenditures per pupil for blacks and whites were similar in the mining towns in the early 1900s, Fishback, "Employment Conditions," p. 402; David Corbin, *Life, Work, and Rebellion in the Coal Fields: The Southern West Virginia Miners 1880-1922* (Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, 1981), pp. 71-72; Laing, "Negro Miner," p. 377. This, however, primarily aided children of miners. The relative benefits of equal education in West Virginia were felt with a lag. Better-educated blacks tended to avoid staying in the mines and probably became teachers if they did stay in the area.

⁴³ West Virginia Department of Mines, *Annual Report*, 1913, p. 11.

⁴⁴ Interview conducted by Keith Dix with U. G. Carter, West Virginia Oral History Project.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Getting foreman papers was no guarantee that blacks would become foremen. After U. G. Carter established the mining extension course for blacks at West Virginia State College in 1937, he gathered statistics on blacks who passed the exam prior to 1942. Only 23 (or 46 percent) were in positions of competency. "Report to the West Virginia State College Mining Extension Course for 1942-43," U. G. Carter Collection at the West Virginia Regional and History Collection at the West Virginia University Library.

cannot afford to incur the displeasure of all other employees by appointing a Negro to responsible position.⁴⁶

In cases in Laing's job samples where blacks were in positions of authority, they were generally in charge of members of their own race.⁴⁷ According to U. G. Carter, one technique of giving a black a position of authority was to make him a contractor, a worker paid by the ton to hire his own workforce and work a mine section. Generally, a black contractor could get only black workers to work for him. Although contracting was widespread in the all-white workforces in Pennsylvania anthracite mining, it was not common in the West Virginia mines. In other cases, Carter asserted that a black may have had the authority of a foreman without the title and sometimes without the pay.⁴⁸

CONCLUSION

In one of their first moves out of the agricultural South, it appears that black workers met with success. Although the ethnic distribution across jobs differed, it had little impact on wages except in major downturns. However, management positions (with a few exceptions in all-black workforces) were off limits. White distaste for subordination to blacks is therefore a better description of discriminatory attitudes during the period than Becker's suggestion of a dislike for physical proximity. Analysts of later periods when blacks were leaving a declining industry suggest that blacks were denied machine jobs. Earlier, while the industry was expanding the high-paying machine jobs were open to them. The evidence suggests that attempts to deny blacks machine jobs were related to economic contractions as economic theorists would predict. Such patterns require that studies of ethnic employment in other industries go beyond cross-sectional surveys and study the impact of changing market conditions over time.

⁴⁶ Laing, "Negro Miner," pp. 212-18.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 182. An ex-maintenance man for one company in the 1920s told me that the Raleigh Coal and Coke Company had once set up its No. 7 mine as an all-black mine to reward its harder working blacks with positions of authority.

⁴⁸ Interview with U. G. Carter, West Virginia Oral History Project.