



**WESTERN
MICHIGAN**
UNIVERSITY

The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare

Volume 10
Issue 2 *June*

Article 13

May 1983

Black Appalachian Families

Arthur J. Cox
Southern Illinois University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw>



Part of the Race and Ethnicity Commons, Rural Sociology Commons, and the Social Work Commons

Recommended Citation

Cox, Arthur J. (1983) "Black Appalachian Families," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 10 : Iss. 2 , Article 13.

Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol10/iss2/13>

This Article is brought to you by the Western Michigan University School of Social Work. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



**WESTERN
MICHIGAN**
UNIVERSITY

BLACK APPALACHIAN FAMILIES Arthur J. Cox, DSW

Southern Illinois University
Division of Social & Community Services

At the time this article as written, Dr. Cox was with East Tennessee State University. The research for this article was partially funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities under contract with Kinfolk: An Appalachian Experience, Oak Ridge, Tennessee

ABSTRACT

The black family in America has been subjected to social change more than the family of any other racial or ethnic group. An overview of its adjustment through successive crises of African transplantation, slavery, sudden emancipation, migration to cities and the vicissitudes of second-class citizenship help in understanding the black family's contemporary forms. The black family of Appalachia faces yet another problem - (INVISIBILITY)

Introduction

The black family in America has been subjected to social change more than the family of any other racial or ethnic group. An overview of its adjustments through successive crises of African transplantation, slavery, sudden emancipation, migration to cities and the vicissitudes of second-class citizenship help in understanding the Black Family's contemporary forms.

The Black family of Appalachia faces yet another problem - invisibility. Appalachian Blacks are a neglected minority within a neglected minority. There are few studies on the existence and plight of Blacks in the hills, mountains and valleys of Appalachia. The most basic kinds of socio-economic and demographic data on this segment of Appalachia's population is difficult to obtain or is non-existent. Statistics and other published materials are scarce and the media frequently ignores the experiences of blacks in the Appalachian region.

A major purpose of this paper is to bring into the literature vital information and data about Appalachia and its Black family.

A general historical perspective provides for understanding the evolution of and the maintenance of the Black family in Appalachia.

Evolution of the Black Family in America:

While there is controversy over the patterns of social interaction between the African family systems and the Black family in America, nevertheless, some generalizations can be made. It is generally acknowledged that the kinship group formed the basis of African Family life and that all other societal functions were organized and controlled by it.¹ Radcliffe-Brown and Forde indicate that African families were guided by certain philosophical principles of humanitarianism, mutual and community participation.² Herskovit's anthropological study of the Dahomey Tribe located at the center of the slave trade area, found that polygamy was the favored form of marriage, yet the family system was highly organized and characterized by unity, stability and security. All evidence indicated that sexual behaviors before and after marriage were under strict family and community control.³ Staples collaborates Herskovit's study by noting,

Marriage was not just a matter between individual's but was the concern of all family members...as a result of this, there was community control of marriages, the dissolution of a marriage was a severe action and only used as a last resort—the authority pattern in the family was patriarchial. This male control in the family was based not so much on being dominant, but on the reverence attached to his role as the protector and provider of the family. Only if he successfully carried out these roles would respect and admiration be accorded him.⁵

Blacks brought to America as slaves found their way of family life destroyed. Blacks lost most ties and cultural bonds as a result of the institution of slavery. The slaveowner put himself in the position of sanctioning behavior on his plantation including matters of religion, moral order, mate selection, sex, marriage and family life. Under more favorable conditions (and there were some) slaves did in fact develop and maintain families resembling that of the slave owner (parents and their offspring). It should be noted, however, that this occurred in significant numbers only after 1835, when the gap between the number of male and female slaves closed.⁶

The slave mother remained the most stable and dependable elements during the entire period of slavery. Due to pressures by slave owners, the economic value of Black children and the slave mothers' devotion to their children, the Black woman was generally recognized as the head of the family group. As Dr. Frazier pointed out, "she was the mistress of the cabin, to which the husband or father often made only weekly visits;" under such circumstances a maternal group took form and the tradition of the Negro woman's responsibility for her family took root.⁷

Even among free Blacks, many of whom were mulatto and had been given freedom with a sound economic base by their white fathers, the mother or grandmother was placed in a special position. Staples disagrees with the Frazier thesis regarding the role of the father. He (Staples) argues that although the slave father could not perform many of the functions traditional assigned to fathers, there were other ways he would acquire respect from his family...he could add to the family's meager rations of food by hunting and fishing, or by making furniture for the cabin.

There is also much evidence to dispel the notion that marriage and family ties were loosely held by Black families. After the Emancipation Proclamation, many slave marriages were recorded in local county offices, and previously sold family members were sought by their relatives throughout the South. Many former slaves and those who became free through their own efforts, copied the majority view of marriage - i.e., mother/father and their offspring.

No greater rate of mobility occurred within any ethnic group than among Blacks in the early 1900s. The "great migration" of Blacks from the South to the North which occurred just prior to, during and immediately after World War I illustrates this point. During the decade of the 1900s, 450,000 Blacks migrated North and West for the 1930 decades. These families left the South for many reasons, but most important were potential economic benefits, avoidance of overt racial injustices, segregation and discrimination. The three major paths of migration were: 1) Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, and East Alabama to Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York City, Hartford and Boston; 2) West Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee to Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Dayton, Columbus, and Buffalo; and 3) Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma to Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. Appalachia was partially on the route of two major pathways North.

This mobility resulted in major problems for Black families. Probably the most noted was the absence of strong sense of community (kinship) and control exercised by rural community organizations, primarily the church, on family members in the more impersonal, urban settings of the North.

The Black family differs from other families because of its unique history of slavery, mass migration, and extreme discrimination. The history continues today in society's maintenance of a caste-like system which tends to relegate Blacks to inferior status and keeps them in the lower socio-economic classes in America.

The Black Appalachian Family: An Historical Perspective

The number of blacks living in the Appalachian region is approximately 7.1% of the total population. One out of every fourteen Appalachians is Black; the majority of these live in urban areas. As in other parts of the nation, Appalachian blacks have a special history and a special heritage.

From the time of slavery, the region was in some ways a place of relative refuge. The mountainous terrain provided some safety to runaway slaves and many underground railroad stations were known in Appalachia. Additionally, the terrain was unsuitable for a plantation-oriented economy and many small, independent farmers were opposed to planters who tried to control the economy and to the institution of slavery which gave those planters their wealth and power.¹⁰

Some general remarks regarding the development of the Appalachian region are in order. The East Coast of the United States was primarily settled by Aristocrats from Western Europe. The western area was settled by the more rugged Europeans, i.e., Germans, Scotch, Irish, Huguenots, Quakers and poor Whites who had served their time as indentured servants. The Shenandoah Valley became a familiar thoroughfare for a continuous movement of these immigrants across the mountains of the Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. These immigrants were best described as poor and every man and woman believed heavily in the "work ethic."

Economically speaking, the natural endowment of the west was so different from that of the East Coast that the former did not attract the people who settled along the Eastern Seaboard. The mountaineers were in the midst of natural meadows, steep hills, narrow valleys and inexhaustible forests.

In the East, tobacco and corn were the stable commodities. Cattle and hog raising became profitable west of the mountains, while various other occupations which did not require so much vacant land were more popular near the sea. While the settlers near the East Coast sought the cheap labor which the slave furnished, the mountaineers encouraged the influx of free men. It is not strange then that there is no record of an early flourishing slave plantation west of the mountains.¹¹

Pockets of mountaineers along the Shenandoah and Appalachian Mountain ranges resisted slavery. These Appalachians resisted in a number of ways including participation in the underground railroad and providing education to runaways. Runaways were among the first blacks in Appalachia. The major routes of the underground railroad by which more runaways secured their freedom ran through the mountains to Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan.¹²

Immediately after the emancipation of Blacks in 1863, many moved to Appalachia to work on the railroad, in the coal mines and later in industries. But the majority of the earlier runaways and later freedmen did not find the terrain hospitable to the skills learned on the plantation and continued on through Appalachia to the Midwest.

Despite the opposition to slavery, institutional racism as we currently know and understand it does exist in Appalachia. Many of the attributes which characterized the early eastern seacoast settlers, such as a privileged class and caste-like system factors can be found in the region. This is especially true outside of the urban areas of the region, such as Knoxville, Chattanooga, Roanoke, and Pittsburgh. Yet these cities have had their racial problems, too. Many counties in Appalachia have few or no Black families primarily because at some time or another, Blacks met with violence when they tried to move there.

Another key factor to the understanding of the condition of Black Appalachian Families is migration and reverse migration. As Brown/Hillery points out:

..., Appalachian people desiring higher levels of living have had few alternatives to migration. The prospects for commercial farming have not been bright, industry had in the past been reluctant to settle in the region and coal mining has proved to be an undependable and inadequate source of employment even in the areas richest in coal resources.¹³

In addition, Southern Appalachia has been surrounded by more highly developed economic areas with major cities and metropolitan areas offering many jobs suitable for relatively unskilled and inadequately educated persons. Consequently, for the past several decades Appalachia has been the major labor pool for industrial metropoli.

And, of course, the majority of migrants have been individuals in their productive years (20-44). Pickard notes that in the 1960s, 38% of all net out-migration was concentrated in a single five year age group (20-24) twice as high for males as females with 1/3rd of all Appalachian males leaving the region by 1970. Ninety-five percent (95%) of all net migration out of the region consisted of people under 45 in 1970.¹⁴

As a result of the above, the average age of the population left behind increased, there was a drop in birth rates and the replacement of young people slowed. Therefore, we find extended

Black families, with many very young and old members and few members in their most productive years.

In an earlier study,¹⁵ Black families in Appalachia were described as facing triple jeopardy, i.e., poverty being Black and being invisible. While the Black population is of significant number, basic socio-economic and demographic data are difficult to obtain or is non-existent. Statistical data and published materials are scarce and the media frequently ignores the experience of Black Appalachians. While this kind of data is more readily available on Blacks in other parts of the country, what is available on Black Appalachian tends to be clouded in too many myths and too little reality. Blacks generally appear to be virtually invisible in Appalachia. In most instances, when Appalachia is compared with the rest of America, it lags behind, and when Blacks are compared to White Appalachians, they lag behind.

The following demographic data describes black Southern Appalachian families as recorded in 1980 census data.

Table I
Southern Appalachian Region Population by State & Race

STATES	White %	Black %	Other %	Total
Alabama	1,831,790 79.90%	449,033 19.59%	11,687 .51%	2,292,510
Georgia	871,652 92.78%	63,906 6.80%	3,885 .42%	939,443
Mississippi	340,534 71.36%	130,962 27.44%	5,695 1.20%	477,191
North Carolina	1,094,541 89.50%	117,597 9.62%	10,877 .88%	1,223,015
South Carolina	654,335 82.63%	133,281 16.83%	4,279 .54%	791,895
Tennessee	1,547,780 92.16%	112,164 6.68%	19,470 1.16%	1,679,414
Virginia	533,902 97.09%	14,302 2.60%	1,705 .31%	549,909
TOTAL	6,874,534 86.44%	1,021,245 12.84%	57,598 .72%	7,953,377

The Southern Appalachian region consists of portions of seven states: Virginia, Tennessee, The Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi: Fourteen southwest Virginia counties, thirty east Tennessee counties, twenty-nine Western North Carolina Counties, six Western South Carolina counties, thirty-six North Georgia counties, thirty North Alabama counties and twenty Northeast Mississippi counties. Major cities included are Roanoke, Virginia, Knoxville, Tennessee, Asheville and Charlotte, North Carolina, Greenville, South Carolina, Chattanooga, Tennessee and Birmingham, Alabama.

There are substantial numbers of black middle class families in and around South Appalachian Cities, i.e., Roanoke, Knoxville, Asheville, Charlotte, Greenville, Chattanooga and Birmingham. In many ways these cities do not identify with Appalachia except in political and funding consideration - Appalachian Regional Commission - (see Tables II and III), in fact, residents in surrounding counties reject the lifestyles of the city.

Table II
Large Metropolitan Populations of Southern Appalachia by Race

Metropolitan Counties or Metropolitan Cities	White	Black	Other Pop.	Total
Charlotte N.C.	182,647 74.95%	59,403 24.38%	1,633 .67%	243,683
Greenville S.C.	235,210 81.69%	50,842 17.66%	1,861 .65%	287,913
Spartanburg S.C.	159,872 79.20%	40,870 20.25%	1,119 .55%	201,861
Hamilton County City of Chatt TN	229,976 79.34%	55,840 19.26%	4,047 1.4%	289,863
Knox County City of Knoxville TN	288,675 89.74%	28,006 8.71%	4,986 1.55%	321,667
TOTAL	1,096,380 81.52%	234,961 17.47%	13,646 1.01%	1,344,987

Table III
Southern Appalachian Region with Metropolitan Area Cities

States	White	Black	Other	Total
Nurth Carolina	911,894 93.62%	52,902 5.43%	9,244 .95%	974,040
South Carolina	259,253 85.81%	41,569 13.76%	1,299 .43%	302,121
Tennessee	1,029,129 96.37%	28,318 2.65%	10,437 .98%	1,067,884
TOTAL	2,200,276 93.87%	122,789 5.23%	20,980 .90%	2,344,045

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Black Families:

Nearly twice as many Blacks as Whites live on incomes below the poverty level. Of Appalachians with low educational level (defined as lack of high school diploma) there is little difference between Blacks and Whites with more Whites having high school diplomas. Black employment rates outnumber White unemployment rates by at least 50%; with Black teenagers rate having nearly 70% more unemployment than White teenagers. This is particularly interesting finding since there is little difference in the number of Whites and Blacks who have high school diplomas.

In terms of housing, the data is more revealing. Housing in Appalachian is generally smaller and more cheaply constructed than housing in other areas of the country. Additionally, the houses are more crowded in this area of the country than one would expect. However, in terms of basic amenities including such important elements as central heat and hot water, three times as many Black Appalachian families live without central heat and hot water as do White Appalachians. This data suggests that Black Appalachians are worse off than Whites in terms of these social indicators. Yet, this region continues to be one considered as a land of poor White hillbillies solely with White problems and without the color problems that plague the rest of America. For instance, in the southern Appalachian region which lies between Knoxville, Tennessee and Roanoke, Virginia, approximately 250 miles east along the Appalachian range, there is only one Black dentist, one medical doctor, one Black with a terminal college degree, five Black registered nurses, and sixty-six Black teachers. There are few Blacks who are considered middle income in this region.

Family Stability:

Family stability is measured in American Society by the extent to which families are able to meet the needs of their members and the demands made on them by outside social systems.

Utilizing Otto's framework for determining family stability, the following five attributes can be identified:¹⁶

- A. A concern for family unity, loyalty, and inter-family cooperation.
- B. An ability for self-help and the ability to accept help when appropriate.
- C. An ability to perform family roles flexibly.
- D. An ability to establish and maintain growth-producing relationships - within and without the family.
- E. The ability to provide for the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of a family.

These attributes are not limited to Black Appalachian families. These can be found among Black families in other parts of America as well as in White families. What is different, however, is the way in which these attributes are manifested in an Appalachian setting - a minority within a minority.

A Concern for Family Unity, Loyalty, and Inter-family Cooperation:

The literature strongly supports the idea that the Appalachian family (both Black and White) has stronger kinship ties than families in other parts of the country, including middle and upper-class families. In Gazaway's¹⁷ study of East Kentucky families, her quote of an Appalachian mother illustrates this point dramatically. "My children will never live any farther from me than I can spit." While a large number of Black Appalachian young adults have left the area, many their children are being reared by family members left behind; they make frequent visits back to the area and are also joining in the reverse migration trend.

Further, as Hill¹⁸ reports, when the census reports are reviewed we find more Black families with no children of their own under 18 at home. Black families are more likely to take in other young related members; Black families headed by females have an even greater tendency to absorb other related children; Black families tend to take in elderly family members, but not significantly more so than White families. More absorption of family units has occurred within Black families until very recently. High interest rates caused a slump in new housing which resulted in more competition for available rentals, causing rents to skyrocket. As a result, many families, both White and Black, in and outside Appalachia, are absorbing families more than ever before.

Availability for Self-Help and the Ability to Accept Help When Appropriate:

Appalachians are known for their rugged individualism. Various sociological studies¹⁹ reveal Appalachians have a strong work orientation and tend not to accept help except as a last resort. Gazaway's²⁰ study on Eastern Kentucky contradicts this data in one respect. She found that poor White Appalachians lived to get on "the draw" - i.e., any income maintenance program. My social services experiences in the region reveal many Appalachians refused social services as they view professional helpers as intruders. More importantly, they feel they can resolve their own problem. They go to their families for help.

Black Appalachian families possess a strong work orientation. Hill²¹ notes that this strength is characteristic of most Black families. Contrary to popular belief, Black families place a strong emphasis on work and ambition. Note: Black poor families are more likely to work than White poor families - 3/5ths of the Black poor work compared to 1/2 of the White poor. Despite this statistic, the economic plight of the Appalachian Black family is dismal. They tend to work at the most menial jobs earning the lowest wage.

Appropriate use of social and welfare services is limited by Black/White Appalachian families alike. This appears to be culturally determined. There is a general rejection of outside intervention into the family by those other than close family members or local extended groups. Also, outside use of societal resource systems is considered a weakness and used only as a last resort.

Ability to Perform Family Roles Flexibly:

Appalachian family members (both Black and White) have difficulty performing various family roles. Most Appalachian families are traditional in nature - sex roles and functions of members are clearly defined. However, due to economic constraints, Black Appalachian families lean in the direction of performing various roles. For example, the substantial number of Black working wives has caused older siblings to act as "parents" and many Black youngsters have entered the job market (though without much luck).

Ability to Establish and Maintain Growth-producing Relationships Within and Without the Family:

Black Appalachian families have a strong achievement orientation although in some instances, it is unrealistic. In a longitudinal study of Southwork²² - White Appalachian children tended to have lower achievement orientation compared with the rest of White America - for example, girls choose traditional female occupations with a very high number choosing marriage. Blacks,

however, tended to choose high occupations while avenues to these contain may barriers. These aspirations generated in the family then, not in the Appalachian culture.

As a result of not being able to reach goals we note frustration emerging in antisocial and other dysfunctional behaviors, this being no different from the Black majority group.

Ability to Provide for the Physical, Emotional and Spiritual Needs of a Family:

Religion in Appalachia, no matter the faith, plays a significant roles in the lives of Appalachians, both White and Black. Blacks have been adept as using religion as a mechanism for survival and advancement throughout their history in America.²³ Yet the role of religion in Appalachia appears to be used less for survival and advancement. In a recent study²⁴ native Appalachian Black families placed heavy emphasis on the church as a community organization that sought community change. A review of the Black churches in Appalachia suggest the opposite.

Frazier²⁵ noted - it was through the Negro Church, one of the most independent institutions in the Black community, that Blacks learned to use religion as a survival mechanism. Black ministers frequently used their sermons to transmit coded messages to the congregation. Negro spirituals were often used for similar purposes, particularly in assisting runaway slaves.

However, the Black church in Appalachia tends to be conservative and most resistive to change. The church's primary membership is composed by older and very young persons. Its missionary role revolves around "lost souls" and refuses to see justice, adequate housing, equal opportunity for jobs, health, and social services as necessary prerequisites to finding lost souls. This attitude is quite different from Blacks in other areas of the country. The most ambitions - in the age range of 22-45 - tended to migrate out of the region and those who remained obtain ambition for their children, but not necessarily for themselves.²⁶ It would appear from Black's involvement and control of its religious institutions, efforts could be generated to further enhance their abilities to provide for the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of family members.

The future of the Black family in Appalachia is integrally tied to the economics of the region, the political sophistication of Black Appalachians and a change in its fatalistic view of the world.

Economic viability is a major factor which enables a family to meet the needs of its family members as well as societal expectations. Economic growth of the region has and still is occurring. A consequence, among others, has been the influx of Blacks from other areas of the country who have brought the plight

of native Black Appalachia to the attention of community decision-makers. Better paying jobs and promotions are slowly becoming available to Native Black Appalachia. If the economics of the region continues to expand, Blacks will benefit if they continue to exert constant pressure for higher paying jobs.

Black political participation must emerge and take shape in the region. Blacks must identify appropriate Black/White potential officeholders and actively engage in the political process. Due to their small percentage of the population in semi-rural and rural areas, Blacks have tended not to participate in major political parties or even vote, thinking their participation will not make a difference. This lack of political sophistication appears to be tied to the fatalistic outlook held by most Appalachians. Black families tend to accept their plight as fate, resist assistance to change their environment leaving their lives in the hands of the Lord.

It is true some progress has been made re-thinking this fatalistic view of life. Nonetheless, only a few groups and organizations within the Black Community are attempting to reverse the trend. Perhaps this is why so many Appalachians feel they are entrapped.

References

1. Robert Staples, "The Black Family in Evolutionary Perspective", in *Black Scholar*, Volume 5, Number 9, June 1974, p.2.
2. Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. and Ford, Darryl, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, (New York: Oxford Press), 1950.
3. Melville J. Herskovits, Dahomey, (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1938, I). pp. 137-138, 349-351, 280 & 283. The field Study was made in 1931.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 137-138, 349-351, 280 & 283.
5. Robert Staples, "The Black Family in Evolutionary Perspective" in *Black Scholar*, Volume 5, Number 9, June 1974, p.2.
6. Franklin E. Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1939) p.38.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
8. Robert Staples, "The Black Family in Evolutionary Perspective" in *Black Scholar*, Volume 5, Number 9, June 1974, p.4.

9. The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States. An Historical view 1970 - 1978, (Washington D.C., U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census 1980), p.3.

10. Carter G. Woodson, "Freedom and Slavery in Appalachia America", in The Journal of Negro History, (April 1916), See entire article. pp. 132-150.

11. Ibid., p. 136.

12. Ibid., p. 136.

13. James S. Brown & George A. Hillery, Jr., "The Great Migration, 1950-1960", in Thomas R. Ford, Ed. The Southern Appalachian Region: A Slavery, (Lexington University of Kentucky Press 1962.)

14. Jerome B. Pickard, "Population Changes and Trends in Appalachia" in The Invisible Minority - Urban Appalachians (Lexington University of Kentucky Press 1981).

15. Arthur J. Cox, "Black Appalachian Families and Children: Triple Jeopardy", unpublished paper - presented at 1st Annual Conference on Appalachian Families and Children, West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va., June 1980.

16. Herbert A. Otto, "What Is a Strong Family", in Marriage and Family Living, Number 24, February 1962, pp. 72-80.

17. Rena Gazaway, The Longest Mile. A Community Study.

18. Robert B. Hill, The Strengths of Black Families, (New York: Emerson Hall Publishers 1971), p. 5.

19. Loyal Jones, "Appalachian Values" in Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present. Ergood Bruce and Kuhre Bruce editors, (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1978), pp. 101-105.

Thomas R. Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism" in Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present, (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1978). pp. 105-130.

Stephen L. Fisher, "Victim - Blaming in Appalachia: Cultural Theories and the Southern Mountaineer" in Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present - Ergood Bruce and Kuhre Bruce editors, (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1978) pp. 139-148.

20. Rena Gazaway, The Longest Mile. A Community Study.
21. Robert B. Hill, The Strengths of Black Families, (New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, 1971), pp. 9-5.
22. See "Occupational and Educational Goals of Rural Appalachian Children and Their Mothers, Bulletin 588 by Judith L. Kuigers, Lois E. Southwork and Helen Reed (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee/Agricultural Experiment Station), 1979.
23. Martin Luther King, Jr., The Strides Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story, (New York: Harper & Row, 1958).
24. Arthur J. Cox, "Black Appalachian Families: Perspectives on Social Change: in Dignity, Diversity and Opportunity in Changing Rural Areas, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1982) pp. 156-167.
25. Franklin E. Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schochen Book, 1963).
26. See Jerome B. Pikard, "Population Changes and Trends in Appalachia" in The Invisible Minority - Urban Appalachians, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1981).