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# Westfield's Black Community, 1755-1905

Michael Camerota

The black community in Westfield took root in the late eighteenth century; it flourished in the nineteenth century; and finally, it declined during the first part of the twentieth century. At first, the community was very limited in size, with only thirty-three blacks listed in local birth records and federal census reports as residing in Westfield, at one time or another from 1755 to 1793.<sup>1</sup> However, by 1895, the community reached its apex with 101 blacks residing in Westfield, as reported in the Massachusetts Census.<sup>2</sup> Then suddenly, in the space of ten years, the size of the community declined to sixty-six.<sup>3</sup> This was a loss of over thirty-four per cent of the black population. One can attribute this decline to a number of causes. Geographic mobility, lack of economic opportunity, and a lack of social mobility can all be cited as reasons for this decline. In order to understand this situation, it is necessary to analyze the social and industrial condition of the black in Westfield from 1755 to 1905.

To begin with, the earliest Federal Census records go back to 1790(Refer to Table 1). At this time Westfield, part of Hampshire County, had twelve free(non-slave) Negroes.

*Table 1.* Heads of black families and number of persons in each family, Westfield, Massachusetts, 1790.a

Name of Family Head	Number of Persons
Banhadad Buck	6
Adam	2
Sib	4
	Total 12

a S.N.D. North ed., *Heads of Families: First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Massachusetts* [Washington, 1908], pp. 120-130.

There is a discrepancy between the Federal Census figures, however, and the birth records of the Town of Westfield. Between 1755 and 1793, fifteen blacks were born in Westfield to six different families. This should have increased the total number of blacks, including the parents, to more than twenty, taking into consideration the high infant mortality rate. The discrepancy in statistics could have been due to a geographic change by several families, to a number of deaths between 1755 and 1793, or to the fact that several blacks were overlooked by the Census takers.

According to the Federal Census, the family of Adam was listed as having two members, Adam and his wife Floro. However, the birth records show that by 1790, Adam's family was composed of four persons - Adam, Floro, a daughter Lucy born on April 22, 1778, and a son Cato born on April 15, 1780. No death records were found for either Cato or Lucy. Later birth records show that Lucy had a son Stephen, born August 5, 1791 and a daughter Olive, born September 25, 1793.

Moreover, the family of Titus Vespatus was not listed in the 1790 Federal Census. Yet, the birth records show that a son Nodiah was born to Titus Vespatus and Sally Taylor on March 15, 1790.

As a result of the discrepancies between the Federal Census records and the Town records, it is difficult to determine the exact number of blacks residing in Westfield from 1755 to 1793. Counting those already recorded by the 1790 Census and adding the new names recorded in the Town birth records, it seems likely that there were thirty-three blacks living in Westfield.

Despite these discrepancies, it is possible to make certain inferences about the occupational status of the black community during those early years. Most of the parents listed in the birth records were servants or laborers. For example, Occara and Present were listed as being servants to William Sackett.<sup>4</sup> It is safe to assume that most blacks did not achieve every high occupational status and that most were employed as either domestics or as laborers.

Several slaves were owned in Westfield prior to the Revolution. The Reverend J. Ballentine, a clergyman from 1741 to 1776, made the following remarks in his private journal on March 9, 1768: "E. B. Sheffield came here today to talk about buying Sylva, a slave."<sup>5</sup> It seems that Sylva was owned by a Westfield resident referred to as "Mr. G" and that a "Mr. B" of Sheffield desired to buy her. However, Reverend Ballentine later noted that the deal fell through because "Sylva is so averse to going out of town and takes on so bitterly...."<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note here that Sylva's feelings were taken into consideration by her owner. In fact, Reverend Ballentine stated that "Mr. B" thought that "Masters of Negroes ought to be men of great humanity. They have an arbitrary power; may correct them at pleasure, separate them from their children, and send them out of the country."<sup>7</sup>

However, Reverend Ballentine also included in his journal an entry which indicated his personal views about an essay written by "Mr. B" on "Whether Negroes among us, and by the providence of God in the station of servants are not bound in conscience to obey the laws of God given to servants and to be looked upon as offenders if they do not."<sup>8</sup> The Reverend Ballentine answered in the affirmative by stating that the "Scriptures countenance the detaining of some in perpetual bondage."<sup>9</sup> In this sense, Ballentine exhibited the news of the "best men of the state" in relation to the Negroes. Negroes were considered to be inferior to whites, however, their relationship with whites was one of accommodation. In other words, as slaves they posed no economic or social threat and were therefore viewed in much the same way as children. In this narrow paternalistic view, the master saw himself as the spiritual guardian of his slaves, reinforcing himself with Biblical justifications such as those of the Reverend Ballentine. In fact, masters were truly concerned with the moral well-being of their slaves. In "Westfieldiana," a journal written by a Westfield resident about life in the community, an entry dated August 2, 1759 considered the question of whether Baptism could be conferred upon a Negro child who belonged to a "widow Gunn." The Westfield resident concluded that since "the blessing of Abraham was the privilege of circumcising not only children but slaves, I infer that believers may give up their servants in baptism...."<sup>10</sup>

On the whole, slavery was never very extensive in Massachusetts. "A degree of infamy was attached to those who actively engaged in it.... In 1763, there were 5,214 blacks in Massachusetts; the number of whites was forty-five times as great."<sup>11</sup> Because of the stigma attached to it, slaves were treated well in most cases, and were afforded some degree of respect even though they were considered inferior to whites. For instance, on January 30, 1760, several Westfield residents paid homage to a deceased Negro soldier who was "discharged from one war, but engaged in another from which there is no discharge."<sup>12</sup>

After 1793, the size of the black community could not be accurately determined again until 1850. According to the Federal Census statistics, there were thirteen blacks in Westfield. This was an increase of one over the Federal statistics for 1790, but it was twenty short of the thirty-three blacks residing in Westfield from 1755 to 1795, as indicated by a comparative analysis of Federal and local statistics.

Although linear projections do not give an accurate picture of the dynamics of growth or decline, they do provide figures which show population increase or decrease. In this case, the population of the black community in Westfield had decreased. The reasons for the decline are hard to determine. In the first place, discrepancies existed between Federal Census statistics and local records. Therefore, it is possible that there was no such decline; and that a number of blacks were overlooked. If there was a decline, it certainly was related to geographic mobility. Since no names listed in the 1850 Federal Census appear in

the death records of Westfield, one can infer that if those records are accurate, a number of blacks had left Westfield for one reason or another.

When one analyzes the social and occupational status of the black around 1850, it once again is clear that they were lower class. Most blacks of working age were listed as domestics or as having no occupation. None were listed as owning property, and five were listed as living at the same address as whites. For instance, Laura Baily was listed as living with a white family. Heden Braxton, age nine and a mulatto, was listed as living with the family of Nancy Brooks. Leticia Garard was living with the Shurtleff family. Lydia Brooks (age fifty) and Lydia Brooks (age twenty), both mulattoes lived with a white tailor by the name of Brooks. In this case, it seems that the two women assumed the name of the white man they lived with. In fact, it is possible that Mr. Brooks was the common law husband of the older Lydia.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, the educational level of the blacks was very low. None of the blacks were listed as having attended school within the year. Without at least some educational background, it was virtually impossible for blacks to rise above unskilled, menial, laboring jobs or to rise above domestic and personal service. Faced with these obstacles to economic mobility, many blacks would obviously move on in search of opportunity elsewhere.

By 1855, the black community in Westfield contained twelve "coloreds," as recorded in the Massachusetts Census.<sup>14</sup> This figure is only one short of the thirteen listed by the Federal statistics for 1850. It is evident that in this five-year period, there was very little increase or decrease in the black community. This was further substantiated by the Federal Census for 1860 which also listed twelve blacks in Westfield.

Although the linear population projection from 1855 to 1860 shows very little increase or decrease, there was a great deal of change. This high degree of geographic mobility was demonstrated by the fact that not one name listed as residing in Westfield in 1850 appeared on the lists in 1860.

In order to gain more insight into the possible reasons for this instability, it is necessary to analyze the social and industrial condition of the black in Westfield at the time. In almost all cases, the blacks were engaged in domestic service, personal service, such as barbering, and in menial labor. Economic opportunity for blacks was limited for the most part to the unskilled occupations. Barbering, although a semi-skilled occupation, seemed to be a "Negro job," it was one in which the black performed a personal service for the white.

In relation to this, only one black, Mr. Richardson the washerman, owned real estate and that was valued at only fifty dollars. In the entire period from 1755 to 1860, Negro ownership of property was almost non-existent. Since

blacks were restricted to unskilled, menial tasks, saving money was almost impossible. Ownership of property was for most blacks only a dream. Without occupational mobility, the economic and social status of the black was restricted to the lowest possible level.

Once again, none of the blacks listed in the 1860 Census had attended school within the past year. In most cases, children who were old enough had to work in order to supplement the family income. Such was the case with the Richardson family. Rosana Richardson (age 19) and ? Richardson (age 13) were both listed as being domestic servants. In other cases, young children had to remain at home to care for smaller children in order to free the parent for work. For instance, Ellen Richardson (age 17) was listed as a houseworker who probably remained at home to care for Henrietta Richardson (age 10). Ironically, Mr. Richardson had achieved some economic success in owning property valued at fifty dollars. Unfortunately, those families that achieved economic mobility (attainment of property) did so by supplementing their incomes with the wages of their children. As a result, educational opportunity was sacrificed for immediate economic advancement.

The situation remained the same in 1870. By then, thirty-five blacks were listed as residing in Westfield. This was a linear population increase of thirteen over the 1860 Federal Census. However, as was the case between 1850 and 1860, there was a great deal of geographic mobility on the part of the black community. Of the thirteen blacks listed as residing in Westfield in 1860, only one, Mary Whitford, was still there ten years later. The others were new to Westfield.

This high degree of instability and fluidity can be attributed to economically-related causes. In every case, blacks were relegated to so called "Negro jobs." Most of the men were laborers involved in menial tasks on outlying farms or in the town, while most of the women were domestic servants. In 1870, not one black was engaged in a skilled or semi-skilled occupation. All were unskilled.

In relation to this, only one black, Bertha Jason, owned real estate and that was valued at only three hundred dollars. Likewise, only two blacks, David Allen and a Miss Regustire, had any personal property. Allen's was valued at four hundred dollars and Miss Regustire's was valued at twenty dollars. Although the sums are small by modern standards, the mere fact that they were listed signified some degree of economic success.

The social and industrial condition of the black community had not improved much by 1880. According to the Federal Census of that year, forty-two blacks resided in town. This was a linear population increase of seven over the 1870 figures. However, the population was hardly static during that decade. Of

the thirty-five blacks listed by the 1870 Census, only three appear on the 1880 list—Emma Taylor, Mary Whitford, and William Powers.

Since those names that did not appear on the 1880 Census were not included in the death records of Westfield, one has to assume that there was a massive movement of blacks from town, and a corresponding migration of others to replace them. Once again, most blacks listed by the 1880 Census were engaged in unskilled occupations. Of the eighteen listed as having occupations (keeping house and attending school excluded), five were “laborers” and eleven were “servants.”

In terms of property ownership, only one black, Philip Payton was listed in the real estate transfers of the Town of Westfield as having owned property. Most blacks rented rooms in the less fashionable sections of town. Many lived in the center of Westfield on streets like Canal Street, a foundry street which ran right through the center of H. B. Smith’s Steam Heating Apparatus Plant. Moreover, many rented rooms in large multiple dwellings on Meadow Street which ran along the Westfield River and on which a number of whip manufacturing companies were located.

However, there was one notable exception. Philip Payton was Westfield’s outstanding black citizen. Payton owned the property at numbers 79-81-83 Elm Street,<sup>15</sup> According to the deed, he paid Andrew J. Marvin the sum of fifty-two hundred and fifty dollars for this property on July 25, 1883.<sup>16</sup> This was an outstanding achievement for Payton since the price of more than fifty-two hundred dollars was a small fortune in the late nineteenth century and would place him high on the socio-economic scale.

On the whole, Payton was a most remarkable man. He was born in Washington, North Carolina on June 18, 1845 and he attended Wayland Seminary.<sup>17</sup> As a young man he went to sea and later settled in New York City where he learned the barber’s trade. While in New York, he became a Mason and was very interested in the advancement of his race. In 1872, Payton moved to Westfield and set up a shop at 83 Elm Street which became the gathering place for the small black community in Westfield.<sup>18</sup>

In 1873, he married a Baltimore girl, Annie Byan; she had four children during the course of their marriage.<sup>19</sup> Susan was born in 1875; Philip, Jr. was born in 1876; James was born in 1877; and Edward was born in 1882.<sup>20</sup> Like their father, all four children would be successful. Susan Payton attended Westfield State Normal School and graduated in 1898 with better than average grades.<sup>21</sup> Later she went on to become a teacher, first in Bordentown, New Jersey and later in Atlantic City.<sup>22</sup> James Payton graduated from Yale in 1900, and soon became Professor of Greek and Latin at Wiley University in Marshall, Texas. Unfortunately, he was stricken with typhoid fever and died in Westfield on October 5, 1902.<sup>23</sup> Edward Payton also graduated from Yale and became

an advertising specialist in New York with his brother Philip.<sup>24</sup> Finally, Philip Payton Jr. went on to become a famous real estate agent in New York City.<sup>25</sup>

While in New York, Philip Jr. became manager of the Afro-American Realty Company and he was responsible for the development of Harlem as a Negro ghetto. In fact, he was called the "Father of Colored Harlem."<sup>26</sup> The news of his success was not confined to New York City. On two occasions the *Westfield Times & News-Letter* ran articles on his success. One story which ran on May 12, 1904, commended Payton for his resourcefulness in the real estate business. It seems that sixty Negro families had been evicted from their tenements on the grounds that the absence of Negroes would increase property values. In response to this, Payton bought the tenements on the opposite side of the street, evicted the whites, and rented the rooms to the displaced blacks at two dollars less a month.<sup>27</sup>

When Philip Payton Sr. died of a heart attack on October 15, 1908, he was described in his obituary as being well liked by a "host of friends."<sup>28</sup> However, in reading these accounts one can only wonder about the upward mobility of the Payton family. It is obvious that they enjoyed upward occupational mobility as well as property mobility, but it is doubtful they were socially accepted in the community.

For example, although Payton was college-educated, he could only attain the occupational status of a barber and he remained one until his death. In various directories from 1880 to 1908, Payton was not listed as being a member of any community social organization.

Moreover, according to various newspaper accounts of the period, it seems that the black in Westfield was more or less segregated from the whites on a social level. One newspaper described a "colored peoples' ball" as being "exclusively for colored folks; white barbarians being barred out on this occasion."<sup>29</sup> In a related article in the same paper, a writer seemed to be amused by the fact that several white boys from the town crashed the ball at the Mt. Tekoa House, selected partners from the "dark dulcianas" present, and incurred the wrath of the "dusky sons of Ethiopia."<sup>30</sup> Moreover another article entitled "With the Colored Men," described how Armina Lipscomb, a boarding-house employee, had been arrested for being too familiar with some colored men in the house.<sup>31</sup>

After 1880, it was difficult to analyze the social and industrial condition of the black community in Westfield since Federal Census data was unavailable. Accordingly, it was necessary to refer to the *Westfield Directories* for 1885, 1890, 1895, and 1900. Like census data, directories were subject to many discrepancies. Often, people were overlooked due to inefficient methods of collecting information. For example, in some directories, heads of families



would be listed along with their children, but in others the names of children would not be listed.

However, directories were useful in gauging the degree of fluidity in Westfield's black population. Confronted with a lack of economic and social opportunity, Westfield's black population continued to be highly fluid. By 1885, only ten of the forty-two blacks listed by the 1880 census remained in town.<sup>32</sup>

They were Hannah Tobias, Mary Whitford, Martha Blunt, Margaret Pell, Philip Payton, Annie Payton, Louis Elkey, William Powers, William Powers Jr., and George White. In 1880, the Tobias's, the Pell's, the Payton's, the Elkey's, and the Powers's were listed as having large families. However, the 1885 Directory neglected to list several members of these families. It is inconceivable that all of these people left Westfield, and since no names appeared in the death records, it seems that a mistake had been made in the Directory. However, the Directory does provide some indication of black population mobility. It is evident that a number of blacks listed in 1880 no longer lived in Westfield.

By 1890, only four names remained from the 1880 census. They were Philip Payton, Annie Payton, William Powers and William Powers Jr. However, by 1895, seven names were listed - Philip Payton, Annie Payton, Philip Payton Jr., James Payton, Susan Payton, William Powers and William Powers Jr. It is evident that the children were merely overlooked in 1890. In any case, a large number of the blacks who resided in Westfield in 1880 were no longer living in town. Since their names did not appear on the death records, it is evident that many had left Westfield for opportunities elsewhere.

In 1895, despite the high fluidity of the black population the community reached its apex. At this time, the Massachusetts Census listed 101 blacks as residing in the community.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, since the census materials were not in manuscript form, it was impossible to determine the names, occupations, property owned, and educational status of any of the blacks.

By 1905, the size of the community had declined to sixty-six. This was a loss of over thirty-four per cent of the black population. In 1895, blacks comprised 0.95% of the total population of Westfield. By 1905, they comprised only 0.48% of the population.<sup>34</sup>

Geographic mobility due to economic factors would be the most plausible explanation for such a decline. By 1875, sixty to seventy per cent of all the whips made in the United States were produced in Westfield.<sup>35</sup> In 1880, thirty-seven firms were engaged in the production of whips with a total output of \$888,000. This continued and in 1902, Westfield produced ninety-five per cent of all the whips in the world valued at \$2,000,000.<sup>36</sup>

Despite this apparent prosperity, the number of whip firms had begun to decline after 1900, as a direct result of the advent of the automobile. In 1900, Westfield had sixty-two whip firms. However, by 1920, the industry had declined to the point that only forty-five factories remained.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, business was declining in other industries. In 1880, there were thirty-nine cigar factories in Westfield. By 1900, the number of cigar factories had declined to thirty.<sup>38</sup> With this decline of business establishments, it is evident that the economic opportunities in town were becoming more limited.

At the same time, the social and industrial condition of the Negro was growing worse throughout Massachusetts. Faced by limited economic opportunities, almost one-third of the black males and nearly half of the females were in occupations classified as Domestic and Personal Service. Of a random survey of 8,335 Negroes, there were 4,476 males (67.58% of the total number employed in gainful occupations). Of the males, 31.75% were engaged in Domestic Service; 14.74% were engaged in Personal Service; and 12.71% were engaged as Laborers. However, only 12.49% were engaged in Trade; only 12.69% were in Transportation; and only 10.25% were in Manufacturing. The remaining 5.37% were engaged in other classifications.<sup>39</sup>

Among the women who comprised 32.42% of those surveyed as engaged in gainful occupations, 46.06% were engaged in Domestic Service and 40.20% were engaged in Personal Service. However, only 9.73% were in Manufacturing. The remaining 4.01% were in other occupations.<sup>40</sup>

In terms of land ownership, the situation was very difficult for the black. In 1900, of the 6,880 Negro homes surveyed, only 1,094 were owned by Negroes, while 5,347 were rented. Of those owned by Negroes, 602 were encumbered, while only 468 were owned outright.<sup>41</sup>

On an educational level, of the total population of whites and blacks surveyed, roughly one-fifth of the whites attended school in 1890 as compared with roughly one-seventh of the blacks.<sup>42</sup> In terms of illiteracy, of the 26,573 surveyed Negroes who were ten years of age and over, 2,853 or 10.74% were classified as illiterate.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, of the 2,237,027 surveyed whites who were ten and over, 130,321 or 5.83% were classified as illiterate.<sup>44</sup>

In terms of mortality, the death rate per thousand was higher for blacks under one year of age than for whites.<sup>45</sup> For instance, in Westfield, in the space of three years, William and Georgia Powers lost three children all under one year of age. On April 15, 1895, Gertrude Powers died of convulsions at age nine months; and on August 16, 1898, an un-named, premature child died at birth.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, throat and lung ailments seemed to affect Negroes to a greater extent than any other disease. In 1900, 22.59% of the deaths among blacks were caused by consumption (tuberculosis) as compared to 6.82% of the deaths of native whites and 14.45% of the foreign whites.<sup>47</sup>

In conclusion, the black community in Westfield took root towards the end of the eighteenth century; it reached its height in 1895; and declined significantly by 1905. At its height, the black community numbered over one hundred citizens. Most were servants or common laborers. The majority owned no property and lived in the less fashionable districts of Westfield. Faced with limited economic opportunities, brought about by an economic decline, many left town in search of greater economic security.

Moreover, on a social level, blacks were segregated from the rest of the community, belonging to no clubs or social organizations. This was true even in the case of Westfield's most prominent black citizen. Although Philip Payton owned three different properties valued over five thousand dollars and ran his own business, he still belonged to no organizations. Moreover, according to newspaper accounts, it is evident that the blacks often met with hostility and ridicule from the white society.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 *Vital Statistics for the Town of Westfield: Births 1755-1793* (written on index cards on file in the City Clerk's Office).  
See also, S.N.C. North ed., *Heads of Families: First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Massachusetts* (Washington, 1908), pp. 120-130.
- 2 *Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1905: Population and Social Statistics*. Vol. 1 (Boston 1909), pp. 51-53.
- 3 *Ibid.*
- 4 *Vital Statistics for the Town of Westfield: Births 1755-1793*.
- 5 "Slavery in Westfield", *Westfield Journal*, November 19, 1833, p. 3. Cols. 2-3.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 "Westfieldiana-No. V," *Westfield Journal*, (February 18, 1834, p.3, Cols. 2-3.
- 11 "Slavery in Massachusetts," p.3. Col. 1.
- 12 "Westfieldiana-No. VI," *Westfield Journal*, February 25, 1834, p.3, Col.
- 13 *Manuscript 7th Federal Census 1850 Massachusetts: Hampden County*, Roll #137, Micro-Copy #T-6.
- 14 Francis de Witt, ed., *Abstract of the Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: 1855* (Boston, 1851), p.26.
- 15 *Real Estate Transfers for the City of Westfield*. Bk. 4, p. 483.
- 16 *Hampden County Register of Deeds*. Book 399, p. 11.
- 17 *The Valley Echo*, October 16, 1908, p.2, Col. 2.
- 18 Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York, 1971), p. 93.
- 19 *Deaths Registered in the Town of Westfield: 1893-1915*, Vol. I, October 5, 1902.
- 20 *Index to Births Westfield, Massachusetts*, Vol. II.
- 21 *Westfield State Normal School: Ranks of Entering Class* (September, 1894), p. 87.
- 22 *Westfield Directory for the Year 1903* (Albany, New York, 1903), p. 206.
- 23 *Yale University Triennial Record* (New Haven, Connecticut), p. 92.
- 24 *Yale College Biography of Graduates* (New Haven, Connecticut), p. 472.
- 25 *Westfield Times & News-Letter*, August 4, 1904, p. 2.
- 26 Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto*, p. 95.
- 27 *Westfield Times & News-Letter*, October 16, 1908, p. 10.
- 28 *Springfield Daily Republican*, October 16, 1908, p. 10.
- 29 *Westfield Times & News-Letter*, September 27, 1872, p. 2, Col. 2.
- 30 *Ibid.*, AIP., October 4, 1872, p. 2, Col. 6.
- 31 *Hampden County Leader*, September 11, 1908, p.1, col. 3.
- 32 *Westfield Directory for the Year 1882-1883* (Albany, 1883), pp. 131-137.
- 33 *Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1905: Population & Social Statistics*, Vol. I, (Boston, 1909), pp. 51-53.
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 Ernest F. Morrill, *The History and Development of Industry in Westfield* (Thesis for a B.B.A. Degree, College of Business Administration, Boston University, 1935), pp. 13-14.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p.14.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 39 *Public Documents of Massachusetts: Being the Annual Reports of Various Public Officers and Institutions for the Year 1903*. Vol. XI, *Social and Industrial Condition of the Negro in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1903), pp. 248-249.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 277. Ownership could not be determined for a number of homes in the survey.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 270
- 43 Literacy is defined by the United States Census as "the ability of each person ten years of age or over to read and write in any language."
- 44 *Public Documents*, pp. 247.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 266.
- 46 *Town of Westfield: Deaths 1853-1893*.
- 47 *Public Documents of Massachusetts*, p. 269.