



**Black Intergenerational Mobility,
Libertarian Capitalism, and Authoritarian
Government, 1877 – 1941:
A Case Study**

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and authoritarian government, 1877 – 1941: a case study**

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Abstract

There are persistent multigenerational Black-white gaps in occupational attainment. These racial differences in intergenerational mobility are not caused by differences in family values and behavior (Mason, 2007). For three decades, I have gathered evidence on my family's intergenerational transition from enslavement to present social and economic circumstances.

Charles and Susan Rollins were 32 and 29 years-old, respectively, as enslavement ended in 1865. During Reconstruction, they accumulated wealth, established a successful dairy and other farming, helped found a church and religious organizations, helped found multiple civic organizations, served on boards affiliated with the local university and high school, were elected to County and State public office, had savings and bank accounts for the entire family, and were leaders among an extensive social network. Jim Crow in the South and anti-black racism in the north stymied upward mobility for the Rollins family for the three generations after Charles and Susan, despite the fact that their descendants obtained greater education than their ancestors, displayed a willingness to relocate 100s of miles away from their home, possessed a culture of achievement (hard work, future orientation, married couple families, etc.), were blessed with exceptional social capital, and, perhaps, the relative advantage of being mulattoes.

I am greatly honored to be the recipient of the 2025 Samuel Z. Westerfield Award, the highest recognition bestowed by the National Economic Association. In receiving this award, I feel privileged beyond measure to be in the company of an exceptional set of economists whose professional contributions are benchmarks for excellence and an inspiration for countless other scholars. Indeed, I am in awe of the list of previous recipients which includes a Nobel prize winner, ambassadors and high-ranking government officials, Federal Reserve Board members, university presidents, foundation executives, and influential academic researchers and public policy advocates. Lastly, I am especially proud to note that I have been blessed to co-author publications with six of the last seven Westerfield Prize recipients; Bernard E. Anderson, Margaret C. Simms, William A. Darity, Jr., Samuel L. Myers, Jr., Cecilia A. Conrad, and James B. Stewart. I will be forever thankful to have my name among this august list of recipients of the Samuel Z. Westerfield award.

I would like to take a few minutes to discuss African American intergenerational mobility. There are persistent multigenerational Black-white gaps in favorable socioeconomic outcomes. We examine these generational differences to find levers that will allow us to close the racial gaps. Theoretical models and empirical evidence show that intergenerational mobility is affected by dynastic family transfers, public policy, market conditions, institutions, technological change, etc. The evidence shows that African Americans have lower rates of upward mobility and higher rates of downward mobility than whites (Chetty, et al., 2020). Importantly, these racial differences in intergenerational mobility are not caused by differences in family values and behavior (Mason, 2007).

In his 2015 NEA Presidential address, Trevon Logan (2015) made the case that “qualitative empirical data is the missing element of African American economic history. Rather

than supplementary, narrative evidence should be a primary source of empirical data in African American economic history.” For about the last 30 years, I have gathered evidence on my family’s intergenerational transition from enslavement to present social and economic circumstances. This research has provided me with qualitative evidence to investigate my maternal family’s intergenerational mobility during 1877 – 1941. I would like to share with you results from that research.

I chose the Rollins family (my maternal family) because it is so similar to other African Americans families of the period: they were enslaved in the Deep South and many members remained there after emancipation; they had no formal education upon emancipation; they achieved upward mobility during Reconstruction; they were willing to relocate for economic advancement, with two of the six Rollins children moving from Tallahassee to Boston and some grandchildren moving from Tallahassee to other cities in Florida; their social capital consisted of membership in an array of African American religious, educational, economic, and social organizations; they lived in a majority Black county in a nearly majority Black state; there were many children and grandchildren. We show that for multiple generations the family’s economic wellbeing was limited by the rise and consolidation of Jim Crow, even as each generation made impressive educational improvements.

I chose 1877 – 1941 because of the similarities of that period to the contemporary conservative era in the U. S. (Table 1). Focusing on 1880-1910, Darity, Dietrich, and Guilkey (1997) show African American male occupational status remained 62 percent lower than white male occupational status, even as differences in characteristics explained 49 percent of the racial difference in 1880 and 30 percent of the status difference in 1910. Similarly, African American male wages were roughly 2/3 of white male wages for 1974 – 2007. Both periods had

governments that were hostile to unions and workers’ rights. Massive European immigration was an important element of the first period, while massive African, Asian, Caribbean, and Mexican immigration is an important element of the second period. Government regulation and oversight of corporations were devalued in both eras. Jim Crow arose and was consolidated during 1877 – 1941, while there has been a growth in racism during 1981 – present.

Table 1. Comparative conservative eras

Characteristic	1877-1941	1981-present
Libertarian economy	yes	“yes”
Rising authoritarianism	yes (Jim Crow)	yes (increasing racism)
Massive white immigration	yes	No
Massive non-white immigration	No	Yes
Hostility to labor	yes	Yes

Source: Author’s analysis.

At the start of Reconstruction (1865), the newly emancipated Africans were mostly illiterate. By the time Reconstruction came to an end in 1877, African Americans had made substantial political economic progress. Generations of Black economic progress were severely restrained during “The Nadir,” the 40 years from the collapse of Reconstruction (1877) to the start of American participation in World War I (1917). The rise and consolidation of Jim Crow as the law of the land across the South occurred during The Nadir. By the end of The Nadir, formerly enslaved Africans and their children had established families, churches, schools and colleges, fraternal societies, and a host of other institutions – and, they were literate. But, there was relatively little upward mobility in intergenerational occupational achievement.

The Reconstruction victories of 1865 – 1877 created an environment whereby African American families, viz., the family of Charles and Susan Rollins, obtained greater education, higher occupational status and income than their parents. Yet, for three generations after Reconstruction, that is, 1877 – 1941, Jim Crow oppression in the South and anti-black racism in the North crippled Rollins family intergenerational economic

progress: economic opportunities fell far below educational achievement. Only during the height of the Civil Rights Movement (1945 – 1973) did the great grandchildren of Charles and Susan began to equal the economic status of their ancestors.

I. Political economic context

A. Authoritarian government and libertarian economy

African Americans wanted the end of enslavement to mean the abolition of white supremacy, the opportunity to construct a society based on equality, justice, freedom, and democracy. Few whites were interested in racial equality, racial justice, or true freedom for Africans, who were not citizens, not legal residents, and not humans for the previous 2.5 centuries of U.S. history.

Along with the compromise resolving the disputed presidential election of 1876, there were also multiple attacks on African American human rights and economic progress. During 1882-83 the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Civil Rights Act of 1875, stating that it interfered with the property rights of individual (white) citizens. The infamous Plessy v. Ferguson case of 1896 was used by the Supreme Court to enshrine “separate but equal” as the law of the land.

Emancipated Africans did not receive reparations. After enslavement, each African American owned his skills, ability, time, and effort; Black men and women now owned their own productive capacity – though, the libertarian state provided no legal protection for freedman and it served the political economic interests of the white elite. Ownership of Black labor time and Black life was not the same as control of Black labor time and Black life. Working-class whites saw emancipated Africans as competitors for good jobs, political power, and socioeconomic status; hence, working class whites coalesced with the elite whites to deprive

emancipated Africans of their human rights, political power, and economic rights and social standing (Du Bois, 1935). Government power (controlled by white elites), force, and brutality were mechanisms of economic exploitation and political oppression. Mental and physical terrorism, up to and including death, were frequent punishments to keep all Blacks in line.

The U. S. national economy of 1877 – 1932 was characterized by libertarian capitalism, a system with little or no governmental involvement in the economy in favor of protecting African Americans, workers, or the poor. Federal, state, and local governments did not regulate business; rather, federal, state, and local government served the interests of businesses and wealthy whites at the expense of workers, African Americans and other racial and ethnic minorities. Involuntary servitude of African Americans restored white business profitability by establishing a high degree of Black powerlessness over Black lives under the libertarian pretense of individual freedom.

Racialized libertarian government meant limited federal, state, or local protection of the rights and property of freedmen, combined with active governmental assistance to whites in denying African American human rights, economic opportunity, the ability to sell goods and services, and access to financial capital. Neither the federal government nor the state of Florida had child labor protection, labor protection, protection of voting rights, democratic oversight of local and state courts, democratic oversight of local and state police, democratic oversight of educational standards and access.

Whiteness was a state protected right (Harris, 1993): 1) to use violence to control Blacks; 2) to be first in line or the only persons in line to have access to public resources; 3) to be protected by the constitution; and, 4) to be first in line to have access to private resources. African American equality required the destruction of whiteness as a property right.

There was no sustained federal presence in the South during 1877 – 1954. During the depression of 1873 – 1879, Northern whites decided there was not much the federal government could or should do to assist African Americans in their quest for racial justice and political and economic equality. Just as no African was enslaved because of insufficient education, laziness, criminality, or a dysfunctional family, white domination during Jim Crow was not caused by any deficiency among emancipated Africans; white supremacy sought to subjugate all Blacks regardless of individual values, family structure and functioning, work and school effort, skill, or any other individual characteristic that is often linked to individual success in the labor market. For most of this era Florida had a labor shortage, but Florida's business elite did not wish to pay the high wages and provide the high quality working conditions and benefits necessary to eliminate this labor shortage. Instead, they wanted cheap labor, intensive and long work effort, and high quality work. To make their profits, white business owners and farmers sought to control and command Black labor and Black life. Jim Crow was a profitable totalitarian system.

B. Tallahassee

At the dawn of emancipation Tallahassee was a small town with an agricultural economy. The 1860 population for all of Leon County was 12,343: white (25.9 percent), free Black (0.5 percent), and enslaved Africans (73.6 percent). Blacks and mulattoes were 90.4 percent and 9.6 percent, respectively, of the county's enslaved population (U. S. Department of Commerce, 2004:54). By 1870, Blacks were 49 percent of Florida's population (Gibson and Jung, 2002). Leon County, Florida was an overwhelmingly Black county, with African Americans representing nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of the county's population in the year before the start of the US Civil War (Rivers, 1981:237).

From 1877 to the start of World War I an average of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ African Americans were

lynched per week. For the 6 decades of 1880 – 1940, Arkansas (1.994), Florida (1.655), and Mississippi (1.151) had the highest annual lynching rates per 100,000 African American residents (Equal Justice Initiative, 2017). On November 6, 1871 Charles Rollins served on the Circuit Court Grand Jury. We do not have information on the nature of the Grand Jury’s investigation. However, four days later Charles was in Jacksonville to testify in the federal investigation of Ku Klux Klan activities in Florida.

Anti-Black violence was a daily concern in Florida. The violence was more intense in the more sparsely population areas, but it was a major problem throughout the state. Regional and state officials had different attitudes toward hate crimes. Conservative whites (Democrats) supported the violence; it was an instrument of their political power. Moderate whites (Republicans) sometimes had their heads in the sand and at other times said they were unable to protect Black citizens. Liberal whites (Republicans) were sometimes murdered along with Blacks.

C. Boston

Two Rollins children left Tallahassee for Boston in 1880. Anti-black racism existed in Boston, just as it did in Tallahassee. That said, the two cities were not the same. From its founding in 1824 to May 20, 1865, Tallahassee was a city of enslavement. Boston was the home of many famous abolitionists, e.g., William Lloyd Garrison. African Americans were 1.4 percent of Boston’s population in 1870 and 2.2 percent in 1920 (Hayden, 1991). The Rollins family was a member of the African American leadership of Tallahassee – a local elite without national prominence. There were few college-educated persons among Tallahassee’s Black elite. The Boston Black elite included men and women of national and international prominence, for example, William Monroe Trotter helped set the national agenda for “radical” Black equality.

Tallahassee was a city with only a small fraction of immigrants. Boston was a city of immigrants, with a great many Caribbean Black immigrants. Boston had a high quality and racially integrated public school system, along with outstanding universities. The Tallahassee public school system was racially segregated and just getting off the ground.

Despite the differences, there was an important similarity: most Black residents in both cities labored at or near the bottom of the economic ladder. African Americans in Tallahassee were agricultural workers and domestics. African American workers in Boston were low wage service workers, such as waiters, porters, elevator operators, and domestics.

Southern migrants were 46 percent of Boston's Black population in 1890, 53 percent in 1900, and 37 percent in 1930 (Schneider, 1991:9). Born in Florida with mulatto parents from Virginia, the Rollins children were quite similar to other Southern migrants in Boston. These new arrivals "who came to Boston had a specific reason for bypassing the other seacoast cities; they probably had relatives already there or some other specific reason for choosing Boston. ... [They] were more urban, literate, mulatto, and upper South in origin than most Southern Blacks (Schneider, 1991:9-10)."

II. Intergenerational mobility

Enslavement has robbed us of many of the details of the lives of Thomas and Rachel Rollins, the mulatto parents of Charles Rollins (Table 2). They were enslaved, illiterate, unable to build community institutions or record individual and collective achievements, and unable to accumulate property. We know they were born in Virginia. But, we are unable to uncover the towns where they were born, the names of their parents and siblings, their laboring activities or skills, which of their ancestors are European, the arrival and origins of their African ancestors, etc. We do not know the year of Rachel's birth or passing, though we know approximately when

Thomas was born (1813), died (1869 – 1870), and registered to vote during the early years of Reconstruction (1868).

Table 2. Charles and Susan Rollins: enslavement

1813	Birth of Thomas Rollins
?	Birth of Rachel Rollins is unknown
Dec 2, 1832	Birth of Charles Henry Rollins
July 1, 1835	Birth of Susan McClain Rollins
1853	Charles and Susan are “married”
1854	Charles begins to hire himself out from his enslaver
1850s	Rollins children are born
1850s	Rollins family was affiliated with Bethlehem Church at Bel Air (Bethel Baptist).

Thomas and Rachel did not inherit wealth from their parents; they did not bequeath wealth to their children. They were not able to teach Charles and his siblings how to read, write, and do basic arithmetic. Similarly, Susan’s enslaved Black mother and free white father did not bequeath to her either wealth or formal education.

Charles and Susan started their family during enslavement, with no reason to expect that their own lives would be better than their parents’ lives and no reason to believe that their children would have a better life than them. The couple “married” in 1853 and had five children between 1854 and 1860. Additionally, a young niece resided with the family by 1870.

The Rollins family was likely affiliated with Bethel Baptist Church, founded in the 1850s and is now the oldest African American church in Florida.

Charles Rollins, a mulatto carpenter living in Tallahassee, obtained a measured degree of freedom during the final decade of his enslavement; he began renting himself out. Some time prior to the end of slavery Charles had learned to read and write. Rivers (2000:31-33) reports that the military and the railroads frequently leased skill workers,

with leased workers traveling far beyond the boundaries of their home plantations. Small plantations, manufacturers, and other small businesses of various sorts also leased enslaved workers. A literate, highly skilled, mulatto, used to working with planters, major builders, and businessmen during the antebellum era would quite likely have attempted to forge his first political and economic connections with this same group during the years immediately following the civil war, since independent African American organizations were only beginning to take shape.

Within the first 12 years of liberation, Charles and Susan established a solidly middleclass life and upwardly mobile standard of living (Table 3). Both had banking accounts; 3 of the 6 children had banking accounts; their marriage was legalized; they were leaders in an influential church that remains prominent today; Thomas and Charles were registered voters; they were founders of a regional church convention that is still operative; they became successful farmers who acquired, expanded, and ultimately passed on to their children two family estates; they were builders and leaders of civic organizations; they accumulated cash and engaged in real estate trading; and, Charles was a successful political leader.

During the worst years of servitude capitalism, Charles was elevated to higher offices of political leadership, moving from County Commissioner to State Representative (Table 4). He continued to be a prominent voice among Leon County Republicans. Charles and Susan were leaders in local civic organizations and they increased the acreage of their Lake Jackson property, i.e., “Rollins Pointe.” Charles had no formal education, but during Jim Crow he was a trustee for Lincoln Academy, founded in 1869 as the first school for African Americans in Leon County and the first Black high school in Florida.. Between 1865 and 1919, Charles and Susan Rollins were among the most prominent African American couples in Tallahassee. For nearly

all of these years, they resided in a comfortable mortgage-free home on a 5 1/3 farm (Rollins Steet). They also owned Rollins Pointe, a 133 acre dairy on Lake Jackson, managed by their son.

Table 3. Charles and Susan Rollins: reconstruction, 1865 - 1877

August 25, 1866	Charles opens account #1 with Freedman's Savings and Trust Bank
1866	Charles Rollins was a trustee for the Bethel Baptist Sunday School
October 22, 1866	Charles & Susan legalize their marriage
August 10, 1867	Charles Rollins registers to vote
Spring 1868	Rollins extended family rents 60 acres of farm land
August 3, 1868	Charles Rollins obtain family's first homestead (Rollins Street).
October 7, 1869	Charles, founding officer of Florida Bethlehem Baptist Association
Nov. 15, 1869 –	
Oct. 24, 1870	Susan and children establish accounts at Freedmen's Bank
October 14, 1871	Charles serves on Circuit Court Grand Jury
February 1873	Adds to Rollins St. property.
Mid-1870s	Rollins family has \$1,200 in savings
1874-1877	Charles, Leon County Commissioner
March 2, 1875	Charles purchases tax deed on Adam St. property
August 7, 1875	Filed an application to settle on Rollins Pointe (dairy, 1875 – 1946)
October 24, 1876	Charles was Supervisor of Elections (Precinct #8)
June 25, 1877	Charles, founder of Mt. Olive Lodge #5, Free and Accepted Masons, Prince Hall Affiliated
February 8, 1877	Adams Street property was sold

Table 4. Charles and Susan Rollins: Jim Crow

1883-1885	Charles was a Representative in State Assembly
1884	Charles was a Trustee, Lincoln Academy
1885	Charles & Susan are treasurers for a civic or religion organization
December 10, 1885	Charles received a land patent for 46.8 acres of land (Lake Jackson)
September 1886	Charles was Chair, Leon County Republicans
April 26, 1888	Charles was a Leon County delegate to Republican State Convention
November 16, 1901	Organizer, Farmer's Institute (affiliated with FAMU)
March 28, 1902	Death of Susan M. Rollins
May 30, 1906	Charles was an Organizer, Florida Negro Business League
November 1, 1911	Charles added another 15 acres to Lake Jackson estate
August 24, 1919	Death of Charles H. Rollins, Great Spanish Influenza pandemic

The children of Charles and Susan were similarly educated as their parents (Table 5). Mostly, too, their occupations, civic achievements, standards of living were close to their

parents. Child 1, the oldest child, was a Boston letter carrier and would have had above average numerical and reading skills. Child 1 and Spouse 1 were homeowners, involved with multiple Boston civic organizations. Child 1’s income and status as a letter carrier required passing a civil service examination and he was the first family member to move out of agriculture and move above entry level service occupations. Child 2 and Spouse 2 were successful farmers; Spouse 2 was also a prominent political leader. Child 3 was a waiter at an elite hotel, a job requiring verbal dexterity and considerable social skills. Niece 1 was literate and without formal schooling.

Child 5 continued to run the family’s successful dairy farm, which he doubled in size two months after his father’s death. Jim Crow intensified throughout the lives of Child 5 and Spouse 5. Hence, the civic achievements of Child 5 and Spouse 5 were less accomplished than those of Charles and Susan. Each of the Rollins children was born into enslavement, but they supplemented their limited formal schooling with substantial informal education – strongly suggesting that education was an important element of Rollins family culture.

Table 5. Education & occupational achievement: enslaved generations

Ancestor	Birth	Education	Occupation	Location
Rachel & Thomas Rollins	1813	Illiterate	Enslaved	Virginia & Tallahassee
Charles Rollins	1832	read & write	carpenter, politician	Tallahassee
Susan M. Rollins	1835	read only	midwife (nurse) both - farmer, dairy owner	
Children of Charles and Susan				
Child 1	1854	Read & write	Porter, letter carrier	Boston
Child 2	1855	Read & write	Homemaker & farmer	Tallahassee
Child 3	1856	Read & write	Waiter	Boston
Child 4	1858	Read & write	Farm hand, died young.	
Child 5	1860	1 year Read & write	farmer, dairy owner	Tallahassee
Niece 1	1861	Read & write	Farmworker, domestic	Florida

Source: Occupation was taken from federal censuses, state censuses, and municipal directories.

Child 3 was a waiter at Boston’s Langham Hotel, which was originally named The

Commonwealth Hotel (Sammaro, 1998:32). Constructed in 1869, the Commonwealth was a residential hotel, an apartment building with hotel amenities: maid service, a dining room, and room service for meals. Seth Kendall Harwood, Jr., owner of the Commonwealth Hotel, attained a kind of upward mobility reserved for whites in Boston. Harwood was a white male born into freedom in Boston in 1845 and raised in a family of farm workers. In 1869 at 24 years of age, he was listed as a waiter at the City Hotel. The following year, he was employed as Steward of the House for the Coolidge House, a large multi-family structure for affluent residents. For 1876-1877 he was a clerk at the Commonwealth Hotel. He was listed as the proprietor of the Commonwealth Hotel in 1878; he was 33 years-old. By contrast, the Rollins brothers were Black males born into enslavement in Tallahassee in the mid-1850s, raised among agricultural workers, and migrated 1,200 miles to Boston to be employed in entry-level jobs in the hotel industry; Child 3 was a waiter for his entire work career, while Child 1 moved from waiter to letter carrier. Neither Child 1 nor Child 3 became a hotel owner; their savings, talents, and family values of ambition, hard work, self-help, frugality, and willingness to migrant were not sufficient to overcome anti-Black racism – in Tallahassee or Boston.

A. Education of grandchildren

Human capital theorists have long argued that increases in education and a willing to relocate to opportunity are major factors responsible for relative and absolute intergenerational improvement in Black economic wellbeing (Smith and Welch, 1989). The educational attainment of the 26 grandchildren of Charles and Susan are presented in Table 6. The first cousins were born and rose to adulthood as racism intensified during the Nadir. Nevertheless, they were far better educated than the generations of enslavement: their parents, grandparents, and great grandparents. The first cousins finished school during 1896 – 1912, during the middle

Table 6. Education of children and grandchildren of Charles and Susan Rollins

Child	Birth year	Education	Grandchild	Birth year	Education
Child 1	1854	Read & write	Grandchild11	1884	10 ⁺
			Grandchild12	1885	9
			Grandchild13	1894	7
Child 2	1855	Read & write	Grandchild21	1876	10
			Grandchild22	1880	5
			Grandchild23	1883	8
Child 3	1856	Read & write	Grandchild31	1887	10
			Grandchild32	1890	12
			Grandchild33	1891	12*
			Grandchild34	1894	12
			Grandchild35	1895	8
			Grandchild36	1896	12
			Grandchild37	1897	10
			Grandchild38	1899	.
			Grandchild39	1901	7
Child 5	1860	1 year Read & write	Grandchild51	1890	.
			Grandchild52	1892	9
			Grandchild53	1895	8
			Grandchild54	1898	9
			Grandchild55	1899	8
			Grandchild56	1900	12
			Grandchild57	1903	12
			Grandchild58	1905	12
Niece 1	1861	Read & write	Grandchild61	1882	0
			Grandchild62	1887	4

Source: Education and occupation are extracts of 1940 census, if available. Otherwise, occupation was taken from other federal census, state census, information provided on municipal directory. *1940 Federal Census states that Grandchild33 was college graduate. Phone conversation with nearest living descendant (April 4, 2017) says this is probably a mistake. ⁺Grandchild11 was 16 years-old in 1900 and attended schools for 9 months; hence, we estimate 10 years of education.

of the Nadir. Niece 1's children had little or no education. Child 1's Child 2's children averaged 8.7 and 7.7 years of schooling, respectively. The children of Child 3 and Child 5 had 10.9 and 9.6 years of formal education, respectively. Decades before the women's moment of the 1970s, Rollins women were wage-earning labor market participants. The female cousins averaged 9.17 years of education, while the male cousins averaged 7.5 years of education. Four of the nine

children of Child 3 and 3 of the 9 children of Child 5 were high school graduates. All but one of the high school graduates were women.

B. Relocating to opportunity

In addition to obtaining higher years of education than their parents and grandparents, the cousins and their parents were willing to move long distances to secure better employment. Three of the six Rollins children and 8 of the 26 grandchildren moved away from Tallahassee: Child 1 and Child 3 moved to Boston, more than 1,300 miles away; Niece 1 moved to Jacksonville, 180 miles away. Florida grandchildren moved to Tampa, Jacksonville, Ft. Myers, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey; four of the movers were men, while 7 were women (Table 7). Boston grandchildren did not move.

The movers ranged in age from 10 to 44. Some relocations were permanent, others were temporary. Twenty-three year-old Child 1 left Tallahassee for Jacksonville in 1876 and Boston in 1880. Child 3 also left Tallahassee for Boston in 1880. Their moves were 30 years before the African American period of the Great Migration and Urbanization, that begin about 1910 and lasted until the mid-1960s. Niece 1 (48 years-old), Grandchild61 (27 years-old) and Grandchild62 (24 years-old), along with a Ggrandchild611 (10 years-old) are living in Jacksonville by 1909. Grandchild22 was the first Tallahassee grandchild to separate from his parents and siblings, to look for work in Pensacola (1903) and Jacksonville (1912) before settling in Tampa (1912).

[Insert Table 7]

Grandchild52 was 33 years-old upon leaving Tallahassee and was working in Tampa by 1925. By 1930 Grandchild52 was back in Tallahassee, before departing again for Tampa during 1932 – 1936. At 44 years-old, Grandchild52 was living in Danville, Pennsylvania during 1940.

Grandchild52 returns to Tallahassee and lived on Rollins Pointe in 1984. Grandchild53 entered into a second marriage in the small Central Florida village of Kissimmee, after spending time living in Tampa during the 1920s. Thirty-five year-old Grandchild53 and Spouse53, along with Ggrandchild531, moved to New Jersey in 1930. During the early 1980s Grandchild53 returned to Tallahassee and Ggrandchild531 arrived in 1986.

Grandchild57 and Grandchild58 graduated from high school in 1927; Grandchild57 was 24 years-old, while Grandchild58 was 22 years-old. Unlike today, when children are enrolled in school continuously from age 6 to age 18, Grandchild57 and Grandchild58 attended school intermittently. After graduation, Grandchild57 spent time teaching in Ft. Myers before returning to Tallahassee to help Child 5 and Spouse 5 (parents). Grandchild58 married in 1928 and moved to Beachton, Georgia, just 22 miles from Tallahassee. After the birth of GGrandchild581 in 1929, Grandchild58 and family moved to South Orange, New Jersey. Grandchild58 and Ggrandchild581 and Spouse581 moved from South Orange to Rollins Pointe during the early 1970s.

Ggrandchild511, the only child of Grandchild51, joins Grandchild52 in Pennsylvania some time before or during 1940, when Grandchild511 was about 29 years-old. Grandchild511 passed in Philadelphia in 1983 and Spouse511 re-interred Ggrandchild511's body in Tallahassee in 2000. Before and after World War II, the great grandchildren would continue the pattern of raising their education beyond the level of their parents and moving to opportunity in other cities and states (Table 9).

C. Occupational mobility

The occupational achievements and standards of living of the first cousins were not superior to Charles and Susan (Table 8). Often, the standard of living of the 1st cousins did not

match their parents. The Rollins grandchildren battled through racial discrimination in the educational system to achieve levels of education equal to or slightly higher than white Americans of the same age. But, they encountered great labor market discrimination when trying to translate educational achievement into occupational advancement, better employment, and higher income (Table 8). The discrimination encountered in the labor market was a negative incentive to obtain any education, let alone greater than average education. Positive Rollins family educational values and educational imperatives of African American culture overwhelmed the negative educational incentives emanating from labor market discrimination.

[Insert Table 8]

The children of Child 3 had the greatest educational achievement and their hometown (Boston) offered far more economic opportunities than Tallahassee; yet, their occupations were not greatly dissimilar to the children of Child 5. Indeed, both Grandchild53 and Grandchild58 moved from Tallahassee to Northern New Jersey to be employed as domestic workers, though Grandchild53 had 8 years of education and Grandchild58 was a high school graduate. Grandchild52 had 9 years of education and was a live-in domestic worker in Pennsylvania. Grandchild12 and Grandchild13 established careers as successful local professional musicians, often playing with nationally prominent Jazz bands, though their years of schooling were not among the educational leaders of the 1st cousins. Labor market racism – in the North and the South, depressed earnings and employment, but it did not create an anti-intellectual or anti-achievement culture among the Rollins cousins.

The high school graduates did not achieve greater occupational success than the cousins with fewer years of education. The most skilled workers outside of agriculture were: Grandchild12 (9 years) and Grandchild13 (7 years) were musicians; Grandchild22 (5 years),

cigar-maker; Grandchild32 (12 years) and Grandchild35 (8 years), sewers; Grandchild59 (7 years), painter. Grandchild21, Grandchild23, Grandchild54, Grandchild55, and Grandchild56 were all successful farmers, but none was a high school graduate. Indeed, Grandchild21 owned a 100 acre farm, while Grandchild23 owned a 300 - 400 acre dairy farm, many rental properties, and served as a Bishop in the AME church. Grandchild39 was a railroad porter with only 7 years of education, but owned multiple properties in Roxbury. In particular, Grandchild39 owned 5 triple decker buildings, that is, buildings with 3 separate floors housing a separate family on each floor. Grandchild39 lived in one floor of one of these properties. The real estate properties and railroad salary provided sufficient discretionary income for Grandchild39 to buy a new car every few years and to play the ponies.

[Insert Table 9]

Charles and Susan were mulattoes, Blacks with a white parent or grandparent (Table 10). Virginia was the state of birth of Charles' parents, Thomas and Rachel Rollins; both were mulattoes. Susan McClain Rollins was born in Georgia, July 4, 1833. Her father was white. We cannot recover the name of her mother, though Susan's mother was a black woman born in Virginia. The three oldest children of Charles and Susan married mulattoes. Their fourth child died before he could marry or have children. The youngest child married a social-mulatto; a Black person without white ancestors, though during enslavement the free Black parents and grandparents of Spouse 5 had dense associations with powerful whites even as they lived among Blacks.

Mulatto was an official enumerator determined census category during 1850 – 1920 (Mason, 2023). Mulatto women were more likely to marry than Black women and they were more likely to marry men with better jobs (Reece, 2019). It was sometimes possible for

mulattoes to obtain better education, higher occupational status, and greater wealth accumulation than Blacks without a similar white ancestral heritage (Bodenhorn and Ruebeck, 2007).

Mulattoes of Florida and other Lower South states were most frequently the children of affluent white males and (free or enslaved) Black women; hence, their family lineage or light skin shade often provided advantages to mulattoes that were not available to Blacks who had no European ancestral heritage, for example, manumission, some degree of education, and inheritance from fathers (Bodenhorn, 2002). Mulattoes of Virginia and other Upper South states were most frequently the children of poor white males and enslaved Black women. Hence, the mulatto-Black class differences in the Upper South may have been less extensive than the mulatto-Black class differences in the Lower South. Susan’s father was born in Georgia; his family had above average status but were not exceptionally wealthy. Charles’ parents were from Virginia and, therefore, it may be the case that his white paternal relatives were poor.

Table 10. Social identity among ancestors

Thomas Rollins	1813	mulatto	Rachel Rollins	.	Mulatto
Charles Rollins	1832	mulatto	Susan McClain	1835	Mulatto
Child 1	1854	mulatto	Spouse 1	1860	Mulatto
Child 2	1855	mulatto	Spouse 2	1853	Mulatto
Child 3	1856	mulatto	Spouse 3	1864	Mulatto
Child 4	1858	mulatto	unmarried	,	,
Child 5	1860	mulatto	Spouse 5	1870	social mulatto
Niece 1	1861	black	"Spouse 6"	.	Black

Discussion and conclusion

Charles and Susan Rollins were 32 and 29 years-old, respectively, as enslavement in Florida ended May 20, 1865. During the 12 years of Reconstruction, they accumulated wealth, established a successful dairy and engaged in other farming, helped found a church and religious organizations, helped found multiple civic organizations, served on boards affiliated with the local university and high school, were elected to County and State public office, had savings and

bank accounts for the entire family, and were leaders among an extensive friendship network.

Charles Rollins' ability to "hire himself out," to function as an independent entrepreneur (carpenter) and engage in self-help while enslaved indicates that his enslavement was driven by the desire of white capitalists (enslavers) to obtain profits, not by "prejudice" or other subjective feelings, dysfunctional family, etc. This informs us that racial inequality during the present era may persist due to instrumental motives as opposed to subjective "tastes" or insufficient information.

Finally, the limits on intergenerational mobility among the Rollins family are strongly consistent with reparations payments to African Americans as reparative justice for both enslavement and Jim Crow, that is, for the injustices of both chattel capitalism and servitude capitalism (Mason, 2023). Jim Crow in the South and anti-black racism in the north stymied upward mobility for the Rollins family for the three generations after Charles and Susan, despite the fact that their descendants obtained greater education than their ancestors, displayed a willingness to relocate 100s of miles away from their home, possessed a culture of achievement (hard work, future orientation, married couple families, etc.), were blessed with exceptional social capital, and, perhaps, the relative advantage of being mulattoes.

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Table 7. Relocating to Opportunity

Child	Mobility	Grandchild	Mobility
Child 1	From Tallahassee to Boston	Grandchild11 - Grandchild13	All remained in Boston
Child 2		Grandchild21 Grandchild22 Grandchild23	From Tallahassee to Tampa
Child 3	From Tallahassee to Boston	Grandchild31 - Grandchild39	All remained in Boston
Child 5		Grandchild51 Grandchild52 Grandchild53 Grandchild54 Grandchild55 Grandchild56 Grandchild57 Grandchild58 Grandchild59	From Tallahassee to Tampa to Pennsylvania From Tallahassee to South Orange, NJ From Tallahassee to Jacksonville (WWII) to Tallahassee From Tallahassee to Ft. Myers to Tallahassee From Tallahassee to South Orange, NJ
Niece 1	From Tallahassee to Jacksonville	Grandchild61 Grandchild62	From Tallahassee to Jacksonville From Tallahassee to Jacksonville

Source: Mason (In progress).

Table 8. Occupation of children and grandchildren of Charles and Susan Rollins

Occupation	Birth year	Occupation	Grandchild	Birth year	Occupation
Child 1	1854	porter, letter carrier	Grandchild11	1884	Elevator lady; Clerk, Shoe Factory
			Grandchild12	1885	Musician, Elevator man, Chauffer
			Grandchild13	1894	Musician, Elevator Operator, Office Worker
Child 2	1855	Homemaker & farmer	Grandchild21	1876	Farmer (100 acres)
			Grandchild22	1880	Cigar-maker and Janitor (Post Office)
			Grandchild23	1883	Farmer
Child 3	1856	Waiter	Grandchild31	1887	Packer (WPA Surplus Commodity)
			Grandchild32	1890	Sewer worker (WPA Dressmaker Project)
			Grandchild33	1891	Homemaker (Dressmaker before 1940)
			Grandchild34	1894	Chambermaid (private home), Elevator Operator (Hotel)
			Grandchild35	1895	Stitcher (WPA Sewing Project)
			Grandchild36	1896	Elevator Operator (Office Building)
			Grandchild37	1897	Elevator Operator (Department Store)
			Grandchild38	1899	Bus Boy (Hotel)
			Grandchild39	1901	Porter (railroad); Bell Boy (Hotel)
			Child 5	1860	farmer, dairyman
Grandchild52	1892	Domestic worker (private home, Penn.)			
Grandchild53	1895	Domestic worker (private home, NJ)			
Grandchild54	1898	Farmer (28 acres)			
Grandchild55	1899	Farmer (46 acres)			
Grandchild56	1900	Farmer (25 acres)			
Grandchild57	1903	Farming, teacher, homemaker, caregiver, (19 acres)			
Grandchild58	1905	Domestic worker (NJ), (15 acres)			
Grandchild59	1916	Painter			
Niece 1	1861	Farmworker	Grandchild61	1882	Farm worker, cook
			Grandchild62	1887	Clerk (retail grocery)

Table 9. Education & occupation after urbanization and migration: 2nd cousins

	Birth	Educ	Occupation
Grandchildren of Child 1			
Ggrandchild121	1908	10	clerk & pipe fitter
Ggrandchild122	1919	12	singer, activist and organizer, salesgirl, homemaker, municipal service worker
Grandchildren of Child 2			
Ggrandchild221	1922	8+	worker, cement company
Ggrandchild231	1904	?	unemployed (hospitalized)
Grandchildren of Child 3			
Ggrandchild321	1916	College	social worker
Ggrandchild322	1918	High school	died young (tb)
Ggrandchild323	1920	College	electrical engineer
Ggrandchild331	1925	12	Stenographer
Ggrandchild341	1924	10	Stenographer
Ggrandchild342	1926	?	Seaman (electrical engineer)
Ggrandchild351	1916	8	Watchman
Ggrandchild352	1919	9+	clerk, electrician
Ggrandchild371	1931	?	Stenographer
Grandchildren of Child 5			
Ggrandchild511	1911	5	school cook
Ggrandchild531	1914	10	chauffer, staff sergeant, insurance salesman
Ggrandchild541	1926	MA	Minister
Ggrandchild542	1928	11	
Ggrandchild543.	1928	MA	Dietician, farmer
Ggrandchild544	1930	12	Post office, pastor, farmer, carpenter
Ggrandchild545	1932	MA	Teacher
Ggrandchild546	1934	11	merchant marine and supervisor, pumping crew
Ggrandchild547	1936	12	Housekeeping
Ggrandchild548	1938	BA	registered nurse
Ggrandchild549	1939	7	machine maintenance
Ggrandchild5410	1940	12	entrepreneur, farmer, fisherman
Ggrandchild551	1921	10	Homemaker maintenance, federal building;
Ggrandchild552	1922	7	maintenance, general motors
Ggrandchild553	1927	6	Janitor
Ggrandchild554	1928		
Ggrandchild555	1931		
Ggrandchild556	1933		

Ggrandchild557	1935		
Ggrandchild561	1925	12	
Ggrandchild562	1926	BA	Auto mechanics teacher (Grambling)
Ggrandchild563	1928	12	Clerical
Ggrandchild581	1929		Food service worker
Ggrandchild582	1932		Hospital attendant
Ggrandchild583	1939		
Ggrandchild584			
Ggrandchild591	1936	7	Carpenter
Ggrandchild592	1940	12	staff worker – state
Ggrandchild593	1949	12	Painting
Ggrandchild594	1950	PhD	Psychologist
Ggrandchild595	1954	13	janitorial service/caregiving/preacher
Ggrandchild596	1952	14	prison guard
Ggrandchild597	1959	14	staff worker - blind services
Ggrandchild598	1960	BA	.

Grandchildren of Niece 1

Ggrandchild611	1899	?	?
Ggrandchild612	1910	not able to write	railroad worker
