

living in the La Crosse community. Some of these included mothers, nephews, brothers, sisters, persons with the same family name and from the same birthplace, or close friends who had found La Crosse economically rewarding and perhaps a place amenable to having African-Americans within its community. Many of these assuredly came to work in barbershops owned or operated by near relatives.

**Former slave status:** Only six persons were clearly identified in the sources as having held former slave status. These were Harriet Ayers, Clara Virginia Johnson, Robert Johnson, Nathan Smith, Sarah Smith, and August Samuel Thompson. Several of the earliest settlers came from border states between the North and the South. While it is reasonable to assume that several more from those born in the deep South before 1860 were born into a state of servitude, locally-accessible data does not identify them as having held such status.

**Educational levels:** Census-takers occasionally noted whether heads-of-household could read or write, but that data was not recorded consistently. Census-takers did note, depending on their dispositions, whether young children in a household were attending school; some of that information was confirmable in irregular school records that survive. Between 1850 and 1906, thirty-eight students were identified as attending primary schools, most of them in La Crosse's First Ward. Three attended Wayland Academy in Beaver Dam, Wisconsin, and one attended Galesville University in Galesville, Wisconsin. Both of these latter schools were more similar to boarding-high-schools than they were to colleges. Six students were known to have attended La Crosse High School, with four having finished high school either in La Crosse or elsewhere. Three attended and graduated from post-secondary schools. Only one was known to have obtained a master's degree.

Census data was unreliable to indicate the degree of attendance in La Crosse-based schools, for census-takers recorded only those who were living in La Crosse at census-taking times and who informed census-takers of that circumstance. Close

proximity of First Ward Elementary School to the principal housing district occupied by African-Americans suggests, however, that that location alone would have made it convenient for children of school-age to walk to and attend school. It is likely that larger-than-average numbers (relative to Whites who lived far away from available schools) of African-American children attended schools, especially if they were younger than 13 years of age.

**Family size and marital status:** This data refers only to the size of families when they lived in La Crosse. A high proportion of African-Americans were transitory persons, moving from one place to another. Many found La Crosse as a place to register a marriage or a place to get married. Seventy-four persons were either single persons or persons whose spouses did not live with them in La Crosse, meaning that their households contained only one person. Fifty-seven heads-of-household either chose La Crosse as a place to marry or were married couples that did not have children living in the household. Some of these may have left children behind with relatives while they traveled the Mississippi River in search of economic opportunity within an urban setting. Twenty-one heads-of-household had one child living in the household at census time or during their periods of residence in La Crosse; two had two children; eight had three children; six had four children; four had five children; four had six children; two had seven children; and one had nine children. In effect, of 104 heads-of-household who were married (spouses living in the household), only 49 had children, and these latter had 130 children (an average of 2.65 children per dual-spouse household over the 1850-1906 period). Widows and widowers accounted for another ten children living in households – four had one child each and three had two children each. Those claiming or noted as having had or obtained widow status while in La Crosse numbered 18 households, and those of widower status comprised eight households.

**Terms of residence:** By separating terms of