THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE NEGRO WITHIN
BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL ENTERPRISES
IN TEXAS SINCE 1900

THESIS

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MASTER OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement and Purpose of the Problem

This research study shall be the advancement of the Negro within business and professional enterprises in Texas since 1900. The objective is to discover if and where the colored people have made progress. If progress has been made, it must be due to some prevailing influence, and if no progress has been made, there has evidently been some hindering cause. This research shall try to discover these factors and record the results as they affected the progress of these people.

It is the intention of the writer to trace the educational, economic, and social advancement of these people and to show in what fields of endeavor they have advanced and in which fields they have failed. This advancement shall be traced from the year 1900 to the year 1950, showing the progress in ten-year intervals. A foundation is to be laid by giving a historical background portraying the educational, economic, and social status of these people from the Civil War days to the year 1900. With this understanding of the history of the early days of the Negro following his liberation from slavery, there will be a greater appreciation of all advancement since 1900. A true picture of the
engagements in different fields of endeavor in each ten-year period is to be revealed. As the opportunities for the colored man expand, both economically and socially, and as he enters new occupations, this change is to be recorded. The fields in which these colored people entered and failed, with the possible cause of failure, is to be stated. The fields in which they entered and in which they succeeded, and the probable reasons for their success in these enterprises, are to be given.

Scope and Limitation of the Problem

When the possibility of this research problem on the advancement of the Negro was first considered, it was the intention of the writer to base this study on the Negroes of the entire United States. After a few weeks of research and note-taking, however, it was realized that this was too great an undertaking, considering the time, money, and work involved. Therefore, the geographical location was confined only to Texas. The possibility of including the years from the Civil War days to the present time was also considered. This would have made the picture more picturesque and greater advancement would have been revealed. Again, this seemed to be too great an undertaking, so the time limit was narrowed to include only the years from 1900 to 1950.
Survey of Related Studies

When this topic of the advancement of the Negro was first considered as a research problem, the first task was to discover whether any research had been done on this subject prior to this time. As this survey was made, notes were taken on all available information that was of importance in developing the topic. The first thing done to answer this question was to use all available material in the North Texas State College Library. Such indexes as the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Education Index, and the Review of Educational Research were examined. Information in these books has been classified as (1) periodical literature, found in journals; (2) books, monographs, year-books, and bulletins; (3) graduate theses; and (4) certain miscellaneous sources of information. The Education Index lists theses as "dissertations--academic" and "degrees--academic, Doctor's, and Master's."

Besides the indexes thus far mentioned, many periodical indexes and abstracts were used. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, the International Index to Periodicals, and the Occupational Index were especially helpful in locating materials. The card index was also utilized in locating material on the subject, especially books and monographs. The list of North Texas State College theses was also examined. Other references were run for books, monographs, bulletins, year-books, periodical articles, and graduate theses previously done
This canvass was extended by examining the annual bibliographies of research published by the United States Office of Education.

After much study, the conclusion was drawn that no research had been done that revealed the educational and business progress of the Texas Negro.

**Definition of Terms**

The words **professional enterprises** include those enterprises engaged in that pertain to callings or occupations requiring a superior education. **Business enterprises** include those enterprises or occupations from which one derives a livelihood.

The term **education** as used in this report includes not only formal education, but also the training of the mental and moral powers, either by a system of study and discipline, or by the experiences of life. It includes the enlightenment which the Negro obtained through life experiences. The word **agriculture** is used to mean the science and art of cultivating fields, known as farming. **Interracial problems** refer to any problem or problems of conflicting ideas that exist between the white and colored races. **Industry** includes all forms of economic activity such as financial, commercial, and productive enterprises engaged in by the colored people. The term **politics** pertains to the method of managing affairs of government, especially the method
of party management or support. This term is used throughout the seven chapters and much information is given concerning the "white primary." White primaries are the elections held by the Democratic party of the state in which the Negro was excluded in the early days of the history of the state, and in which he eventually gained the right of participation. Employment pertains to the state of being occupied and refers to a business or occupation in which one is engaged. Economic progress refers to the earning, distributing, and using of income, both public and private, and pertains to the methods of providing for the needs of all mankind.

**Sources**

The sources of information for this research have been varied. The materials of many libraries have been used. Letters have been written. Social contacts have been made, and personal interviews with members of the colored race have been held.

Much of the data was taken from newspapers of the state. Some of the papers used were the Brownsville Herald, the Dallas Morning News, the San Antonio Express, the Houston Post, and the Texas Weekly. The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide was also consulted. Much information was obtained from the following school catalogues: Bulletin of the Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, Bulletin of the Paul Quinn College, Tillotson College
Annual Bulletin of Announcements, and Bishop College Catalog. All of these schools are institutions for Negroes in Texas.

Much of the educational data was obtained from the census division of the Texas Education Agency, and reports of the Texas Commission on Interracial Co-operation were utilized. Information on this topic was also taken from the United States Department of Commerce and from the Bureau of the Census. There were two methods used to obtain this information. Several days were spent in the field office, Dallas, Texas, of the Department of Commerce, running their files and reports. Letters were also sent to the Department at Washington, D. C., which brought important statistical information. The Dallas Public Library was utilized in obtaining information from the Census Bureau, and letters were written to the Bureau at Washington, D. C.

All of the available literature on the topic in the Extension Loan Library of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, was used. Newspaper clippings, Negro year-books, and Negro handbooks were received from this library. Some of these books included information on the development of education in Texas, the Negro in the United States, the Negro problem, the American Negro, American Negro Annals, and Negro health nursing in Texas.

The United States Civil Service Commission, Dallas, Texas, was consulted for possible data concerning the employment of the colored people in Texas.
W. J. Norrell, Chairman of the Interracial Committee of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, Dallas, Texas, was also consulted for information. Such material as Charting the New Year, 1950; Questions and Answers about Employment on Merit; Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation; the Condition of Our Rights; Employment and Professional Recognition; and Educational and Cultural Resources were received.

Information was also obtained from the Negro Chamber of Commerce, Dallas, Texas, and from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dallas, Texas. The national headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York was also contacted.
CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURAL PERIOD, 1900-1910

Introduction

In order to appreciate the progress of the Negro in Texas, one must understand something of the background of these people. The Negro slave Estabanico, who was shipwrecked with Cabeza de Vaca on the coast of Texas in 1528, was one of the early comers to Texas. He was one of the four who returned to Mexico and Spanish civilization after six years of wandering over the vast land now known as Texas. Some slaves were brought to Texas by the white planter prior to the Civil War, and after the war there was some migration of the free slaves to Texas in search of greater economic opportunity. However, the excess of births over deaths had brought about the steady increase in Negro population.

During the period of the Spanish conquistadores and padres, a few Negroes were introduced into Texas. The Anglo-American colonization which was started in 1820 brought the Negro slave along with the southern cotton planter.¹

Antonio Benavides tells an interesting story of the settlement of the Negro colony near Brownsville. He says that this colony existed many years before the Texans declared their independence from Mexico. He also tells about his great-grandfather’s coming to the lower Rio Grande Valley a few years after the Battle of San Jacinto and "squatting" on this land. This grandfather had been a soldier and had fought with Santa Anna in the Texas Revolution. At the time of his arrival in Texas, the only evidence of this colony was its cemetery.

He was told by earlier settlers that the Negro settlement was once of considerable size. As Texas was at that time under the Mexican government, it is believed that this colony of Negroes was sent north by the Mexican government.

Mexico had made it a custom to send its undesirable persons to Texas. This leads us to believe that the Negroes came as exiles. The colony remained at the original location and prospered. The exact place is near the city limits of Brownsville on the Military Highway. The Negroes lived in "shacks" on the banks of the Rio Grande.

No one seems to understand why the exiles decided to leave a fertile region. The Negroes were practically independent of the outside world. At present this part of the Rio Grande is no longer a river but a dried up lake.

They were all good farmers, as was shown by their beautiful crops. Why the Negroes left, nobody knows absolutely. The theory thus far advanced is that a great flood came and caught the unlucky exiles by surprise. Many were drowned and the ones who managed to escape left the Brownsville area.

My grandfather related to me how his father used to find firearms and other weapons while plowing the fields. My grandfather, in his youth, also found similar relics. In the place of the Negro colony there are now houses surrounded by meadows and plowed fields. The animals grazing
on the meadow are often startled by the whistling of the train as it passes through the vanished colony. The cemetery has totally disappeared and its exact location is known to only a few persons.

People who have lived where the colony was located have heard weird noises and seen mysterious things. Some claim that they have seen ghosts. Others have seen huge bonfires, and upon investigating, have not even found the ashes. My grandfather often related how he used to hear peculiar sounds. Suspicious persons attribute these things to the Negro inhabitants of the vanished cemetery.  

Professional Enterprises

Population. — The Negro population of Texas grew rapidly and probably numbered 10,000 at the time of the Texas Revolution. It was indicated by an incomplete census of 1847 that there were 39,000 Negro slaves in the state. The United States census of 1850, the first after the annexation of Texas, gives the Negro population of Texas as 58,038 slaves and 425 free Negroes. In 1900 there were 620,722 Negroes living in Texas. At this time there were 2,426,669 white people living here. This makes a percentage of 20.4 Negroes and 79.6 whites.  

Of this population there were 642 Negro children under five years of age for each 1,000 Negro females fifteen to forty-four years of age.  

There were almost five times as many Negroes living in the rural sections as there were in the urban districts in these early days.

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2 The Brownsville Herald, May 10, 1936.


4 Charles E. Hall, "Progress of the Negro in Texas," mimeographed pamphlet from the United States Department of Commerce.
The exact number of the rural Negroes was 501,393 and the urban was 119,329.

Education. -- In 1890, 52.5 per cent of the Texas Negro population ten years of age and over was illiterate. This is well understood when one knows of the conditions of education of the Negro prior to this time. Shortly after 1830 several states passed laws prohibiting the teaching of reading to the Negroes, fearing that education might lead to discontent and revolt. However, many slaveholders, clergymen, and even children taught some of the colored people to read the scriptures. As many as ten per cent of the adult Negro population throughout the South could read. We know practically nothing of the condition in Texas at this time. However, the 1850 census gives 389 colored people in the state, with twenty in school and fifty-eight adults unable to read. The census of 1860 lists 355 Negroes, with eleven in school and sixty-two unable to read. Of the other class, we know little. During the period before 1900 the white people were skeptical in regard to the education of the Negroes who had so recently been liberated and they looked with disfavor upon the white teachers who came from the North to conduct the freedmen's schools. These teachers were subjected to harsh treatment, such as being socially ostracized, insulted, and harassed in securing board and lodging. In many places their schools were burned. Many of the best people in Texas, however,
laid aside their prejudices and looked with favor upon the education of
the race. In 1866 the Texas Teachers' Convention passed a series of
resolutions urging the Southern people to educate the Negroes. They
resolved: "That justice and humanity alike demand that the Negro
should be educated so as to understand his duties and his privileges
as a freedman."

It was about this time that F. M. Law, in a report to the State
Baptist Convention, said:

... In their present state the Negroes need mental and moral
elevation more than in their former condition. Their tem-
poral and spiritual interests require it. The welfare of the
whites also demands the same thing. Your committee would
suggest that this people needs instruction.5

All was not bright for the Negro race, however, as the Constitu-
tion of 1866 ordered that the income derived from the public school
funds be employed "exclusively for the education of all the white scho-
lastic inhabitants." This might be expected from the white people at
this time, as the school fund had been provided for long before the
war, and the bitterness of defeat was at its climax. However, the
same Constitution ordered that the Legislature may provide for the
levying of a tax for educational purposes. All the money raised from
Negroes under such a tax was to be used for the education of the Afri-
cans and their children.

5Frederick Eby, The Development of Education in Texas, pp. 263-
280.
There was no discrimination permitted by the Constitution of 1869. The question of separate schools for the two races was left silent. In spite of the extreme bitterness, schools were opened, and as attendance was made compulsory, many of the colored children attended, this being their first experience of public education.

Separate schools for the two races were provided for by the Constitution of 1876 and impartial provisions for the education of each were made. The majority of the people had become reconciled and acknowledged the right of the colored people to an equal distribution of educational means just as far as they were able to profit by them. 6

It is thought that the first school building in Texas for Negro children was the Douglas School, located at Nebraska and Hackberry Streets, San Antonio, Texas. This school was originally established in 1870 by the Freedman's Aid Bureau and was located in the bend of the San Antonio River about where the old Scottish Rite Cathedral now stands on St. Mary's Street. It was moved to its present location in 1914. The first high-school students were graduated in 1893, there being three to graduate. 7

The Northern people continued to be concerned about the condition of the Freedmen of the South. Benevolent organizations began to set up elementary schools for the Negroes. They soon realized the

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6 Ibid., pp. 263-266.
need for other institutions for the fuller development of the more gifted. In 1873 the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church established Wiley University at Marshall, Texas, in a territory where the Negroes formed as high as 50 to 75 per cent of the population. It was one of the three schools that the Freedmen's Aid Society chose to offer full college work. This school was chartered in 1882.

In 1877 the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church undertook the establishment of Tillotson College at Austin, Texas, on the western edge of the colored belt. This college did not open until 1881.

In 1881 Paul Quinn College was established at Waco, Texas, by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which received aid from the Freedmen's Bureau of the Northern Methodist Church. In the same year Fort Worth Industrial and Mechanical College (recently defunct) at Fort Worth and Bishop College at Marshall, Texas, were established. Bishop College was established by the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

In 1884 Guadalupe College was established in Seguin, Texas, and in the next year Samuel Huston College was opened at Houston, Texas. Huston College was named in honor of Samuel Huston of Iowa, who was the main contributor even though the school was under the management
of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mary Allen Seminary for girls was started at Crockett in 1887. Negroes were beginning to become more independent financially and socially, as was shown by the fact that three of these colleges were begun and fostered by Negro church organizations.

The establishment of the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College at Bryan in 1887 under the federal system of aid called for some provision for the colored youth. An agricultural institution was planned, and $20,000 was set apart for the establishment of what was first known as the Alta Vista Agricultural College. Owing to the lack of students, the school failed completely. The Negro of that day had not the faintest notion of scientific farming and could not understand a school that taught the things with which he was already familiar. It was proposed by Governor Roberts in 1879 that the institution be converted into a normal school for the training of teachers for the colored children. The Legislature was in favor of this recommendation, and the institution was re-established as the Prairie View Normal School. A number of free scholarships were made available from the state treasury, and as a result of these changes, the institution grew rapidly. As industrial education was coming to be recognized as essential during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the colored people asked for an industrial annex at Prairie View. This wish was granted in 1899, and an
agricultural and mechanical department was added for the boys, and an industrial department for the girls.

During the early nineties studies of the various vocations disclosed the fact that the great majority of men were engaged in agricultural pursuits and in the more common forms of unskilled labor; most of the women, in domestic service. Industrial education, therefore, attracted widespread interest. A movement was begun to make education fit the youth for practical life by the teaching of manual training and the domestic arts. Booker T. Washington led the way for industrial training for the colored people. But before this time a convention of Negroes meeting at Waco in 1882 drew up a memorial to the Legislature to encourage schools to train Negro teachers and to add an industrial department to the Prairie View Normal College. They feared that the whites did not think it advisable for the Negroes to acquire skill in the industrial arts for fear of competition.

The introduction of industrial work into the colored schools came slowly, however, for there was opposition on the part of many of the Negroes themselves. Colored leaders in Texas were bitterly opposed to the drift of education toward practical lines. They believed that the whites were trying to hinder their intellectual and social progress and to keep them in a position of industrial peonage. This view was voiced in the report of a Colored Teachers' Association held in 1900. These teachers disagreed with those who thought that conditions forced
them to take the lower order of occupations exclusively. There was a strong feeling among the Negroes that they should have the same cultural training as the whites. They declined to be excluded from the highest forms of knowledge. This was probably the reason that the Negro schools continued to teach Latin and Greek on the secondary level long after the white schools had ceased to do so. 8

An attack on the Democratic party of Texas for its lack of interest in the education of the Negroes was made in 1889. Governor Ross offered statistics to prove that no discrimination was being made so far as legislative acts were concerned. In his pamphlet on Education of the Colored People, he stated:

The Democrats of Texas have agreed that the Negro shall enjoy equal rights before the law, and cost what it may, they will, whether the party’s majority is 165,000 or 5,000, accord the Negro whatever the contract calls for. The race has thus been afforded a good chance to improve, and it is known by the white people of Texas that the Negro has advanced marvelously. They were for years led as so many chained slaves by their white political leaders; now they rule supremely those old chieftains. They have made rapid progress in education and personal independence. They have in Texas thousands of accomplished teachers and preachers and many political orators able to cope with the gifted speakers of the white race. Democrats have contributed largely to this triumph. It is a singular notion that the Democrats could be hostile to the Negro. It would be idiotic to yearly hand out $664,000 for the Negro’s advancement if the Democrats designed to suppress them. 9

Yet, there was still dissatisfaction among the colored people, so a convention was held in Brenham in 1893 for the adoption of a platform

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8 Eby, op. cit., pp. 267-280. 9 Ibid.
in which they set forth their policies in regard to civil rights, education, and social privileges. "The position of good feeling between ourselves and our white fellow citizen" was the prime object of this meeting. One of their complaints was this: It must be borne in mind that the mass of the colored people are in a lamentable state of ignorance, the result of that wicked system of bondage, which shut them out from the acquisition of all knowledge of letters and made it a penal offense to teach them to read the Word of God. They also charged that the whites opposed their education and social progress. By this time the leaders of the state recognized the wisdom of educating the colored people, even though there still remained some opposition on the part of many white people. When the public-school system was established, provision was made generally over the state for schools for Negroes. The white people had come to realize that so long as the economic prosperity of Texas was dependent upon agriculture, especially cotton growing, Texas people would be tied by bonds to the Negro. Injury to both races could only result through neglect, oppression, and ignorance.

The General Education Board was chartered by Congress in 1905 and endowed by John D. Rockefeller with more than $50,000,000. The main object of the corporation was "the promotion of education within the United States, without distinction of race, sex, or creed." This board has promoted the training of teachers by subsidizing their salaries,
has given donations for the equipment of the Negro institutions, has helped students to attend institutions for training in vocational subjects, and has provided for the office of the special supervisor of Negro schools as a service of state departments of education. The board has expended $88,346.14 in the promotion of Negro education in Texas.

In 1908 the Jeanes Fund was established by Miss Anna T. Jeanes of Philadelphia, who set aside $1,000,000 for the improvement of rural education among the Negro people. This fund has given aid to rural supervisors and industrial teachers in Texas and has spent $52,970.16 for this purpose.¹⁰

In 1900 there were 259,491 colored children between the ages of five and twenty living in Texas. Of this number, 90,757 were attending school. This was 35 per cent of the total number of children of this age. There were thirty-two high schools in the state for Negro students, but there seems to be no record of the number of graduates. There were 3,127 Negro classroom teachers with an average yearly salary of $225. The per capita apportionment for colored children was $4.25. The total expenditure for the colored schools for the school year 1900-1901 was $353,620.¹¹

These educational opportunities, even though meager, had decreased the illiteracy of these people from 52.5 per cent in 1890 to 38.2 per cent in 1900.

¹⁰Ibid. ¹¹Census Division, Texas Education Agency.
Business Enterprises

Agriculture. — The colored people settled on farms as they drifted into Texas from other states during the early history of Texas, because farming was practically all that they knew. Land could be acquired with ease in a newly settled state; therefore, many of them were buying their farms. Records show that in 1900 30.7 per cent of the farms were operated by owners with 0.1 per cent operated by managers, and 69.2 per cent by tenant farmers.

The status of the Texas Negro farmers is indicated in Table 1 on the following page.

The total number of acres cultivated by the colored people was 3,835,979, with 63 per cent being improved acreage. The total value of land and improvements was $37,414,009; that of buildings, $7,152,345; implements and machinery, $2,169,577, making a grand total valuation of $46,735,931.

Farm tools and implements on farms operated by Negroes were old-fashioned and simple. The indispensable implement was the hoe, supplemented by hand muscle. The one-mule plow was needed, but was not indispensable. Outside of these, the Negroes had very little machinery and implements. Reapers and mowers were seldom found. Nine tenths of the Negro farmers made cotton their principal crop, which was above the average for the country.  

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF FARMS OPERATED BY TEXAS NEGROES IN 1900 SHOWING OWNERSHIP, MANAGERS, AND TENANT FARMERS WITH THE TOTAL ACREAGE AND VALUATION OF THE LAND OF EACH*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind</th>
<th>Number of Farms</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>20,139</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>$39,873,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1,265,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant farmers</td>
<td>45,605</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>71,863,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>65,825</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>112,992,863</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Freedmen's bank and Negro business.**——The expression of the spirit of business enterprise among Negroes was manifested in the establishment of numerous banks which had a high rate of failure. These banks grew out of the necessity to safeguard the unclaimed savings of the Negro soldiers and laborers and the desire to serve the financial interests of the Negroes. These first banks were controlled by white people, but a few Negroes were employed as clerks and bookkeepers. This employment gave the Negro hope in the field of business enterprise. It was only a few years until they were organizing banks
of their own. Negro businessmen and property holders were associated with the banks, and it was they who became the leaders in Negro banks and fraternal insurance societies. This business spirit among the Negro leaders culminated in the organization of the National Business League in 1900. At a conference of this league which was devoted to Negro business it was reported that there were 1,906 Negro businessmen. Nearly half of these men were located in six southern states, of which Texas was one. Over one fifth of these men had grocery stores, while general merchandise dealers and barbers with $500 or more invested accounted for one sixth of the total. Next in order of importance from the standpoint of number came publishers and printers, and undertakers, who have remained the most important businessmen in the Negro community. ¹³

**Interracial problems.** --- Several years after the Civil War, ordinances were passed requiring the separation of the races on all lines of public conveyance. The advantage of such a policy was realized just after emancipation, but due to the hardships on the Southern States, resulting from the conflict of arms, their railway and tramcar companies were unable to bear additional expense that would have been entailed had they been compelled to provide separate accommodation. This fact discouraged any formal legislation on the subject. Such

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legislation would probably have been declared unconstitutional for several years after the Civil War.

The Negroes, during these years, were inclined to be disagreeable, owing to their passions having been inflamed against their former masters by the white leaders from the North. They were often physically offensive and were prone to indulge in liquor to excess, which caused them to create scenes of violent disorder. 14

CHAPTER III

EARLY DAYS OF PROGRESS, 1910-1920

Professional Enterprises

Population. — There had been 11.2 per cent increase in the Negro population of Texas since 1900. This brought the total number of Negroes in the state to 690,049, which was 17.6 per cent of the total population. There was even a greater increase in the number of whites during this ten-year interval, making an average of 23,169 Negroes to every 100,000 white people. The Negro urban population was increasing at a greater speed than the rural population. At this time there were 178,864 Negroes living in the urban districts and 511,185 in the rural areas. ¹

Education. — By the year of 1910 the lot of the Negro in Texas had improved along the lines of education. There had been 13.6 per cent decrease of illiteracy, which means that there was only 24.6 per cent illiteracy among the Texas Negroes as compared with 38.2 per cent in 1900. There were 246 illiterates per thousand of the Negro population ten years of age and over. ² This decrease was partly due

²Monroe E. Work, Negro Yearbook, 1918-1919, p. 353.
to better and more schools and a greater school attendance. Forty-eight and five-tenths per cent of the children between the ages of five and twenty years of age were attending school as compared with 35 per cent of the same age group in 1900. There was a little greater attendance by the urban than the rural children, the percentages being 49.0 for the urban and 48.1 for the rural. There was 54.4 per cent attendance among the children between the ages of seven and twenty years. 3

The financial status of the schools was improving gradually. The per capita apportionment was raised from the $4.25 of 1900 to $6.25 in 1910. The number of Negro high schools had increased from thirty-two to 126 with 237 graduates. Each of the 3,205 classroom teachers drew an average annual salary of $289. This was an increase of seventy-eight teachers with an average increase in salary of $64 per teacher, over the 1900 figures. These teachers were fairly equally divided between the sexes, as there were 1,312 male and 1,893 female teachers. 4

By 1912-1913 there were 3,100 elementary-school Negro teachers in Texas and five hundred high-school teachers, making a total of 3,600. The average length of the school term was 104 days. During the same school term the cost of maintenance of the Negro public schools was $1,538,925, as compared with $353,620 noted for 1900. 5

3Frederick Eby, The Development of Education in Texas, p. 353.
4Census Division of the Texas Education Agency.
By 1918 the total annual expenditure for colored schools had increased to \$2,002,902. This was an average of \$6.90 per child of school age. The total investment in Negro public-school property was \$2,360,284, which was an average of \$8.57 per child of school age, while the average for the white children was \$22. The annual expenditure for the colored schools was only 12 per cent of the amount spent on the white and colored schools of the state.

In spite of the financial demands made by the war, the Negroes continued to endeavor to improve their educational work and were contributing liberally to their own education by 1918. The Negro teachers were improving their status by obtaining better certification. There were 1,089 teachers with life certificates, 1,154 with first-grade, and 1,713 with second-grade certificates. The Texas Negro Baptist Convention raised \$233,724 in 1917 to carry on the work of missions and education. Because of the influenza epidemic in 1918, this convention was forced to hold its annual meeting on the streets of Corsicana, Texas. During the two-day meeting \$10,270 was collected for education and a drive was launched to raise \$20,000 for Huston College.

In special rallies for educational purposes held by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, \$22,227 was raised for Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas, in 1917, and \$24,848 in 1918.

By this time the following agricultural and mechanical colleges had been established in Texas:
Name of College | Location
---|---
Beaumont Normal and Industrial College | Beaumont
Boyd Industrial College | Oakwood
Brenham N. and I. College | Brenham
East Texas Academy | Tyler
Farmers' Improvement and Agricultural College | Ladonia
Fort Worth Industrial and Mechanical College | Fort Worth
Jarvis Christian Institute | Hawkins
Houston Normal and Industrial Institute | Huntsville
Avinger Industrial Training School | Avinger
Clayton Industrial High School | Manor

These schools had a total of sixty-five instructors, 1,511 students, and $19,378 income. ⁶

The following story cites an interesting but typical example of what was being done for Negro education in Texas:

An investigator of the Negro migration was struck not long ago in Austin, Texas, by the white citizens' opinion of the colored people thereabout. State and city officials, business and professional men wound up their remarks with such statements as, "But our negroes here are superior"; "Austin negroes are away above the average, you understand"; "We have a higher type of negroes here than you'll find ordinarily." And most of them added, as a corollary, "We never have any trouble here."

The investigator, being tolerably sure that Austin negroes had about the same pedigree as any other group of

colored people, was puzzled . . . until Judge Pulmore made
the mystery clear.

"These superior negroes are the interest on an invest-
ment of $5,000 made 30 years ago.""

Thirty years ago the county judge of Texas acted also
as county superintendent of education. This judge took his
duties so literally that he climbed into his buggy and made the
acquaintance of every school in his county, including those for
negroes, in which he found schools in little beside the name.
But he found something else, too . . . something much
more remarkable; an unappropriated $5,000 in the county
treasury, left over from some old fund. He asked the com-
missioners for it for the colored schools. "They gave it to
me, too," he said in pleased reminiscence. "I called the ne-
groes together in each school district and told them about it,
and that it couldn't go far without help." They hadn't much
money, but they gave what they could, and all of them gave
work. Some white folks helped. We got several clean, de-
cent little houses, and better teachers, and lengthened the
term a bit. The main thing was we sort of bedded out the
idea that the colored schools needed attention, and that white
people should take an interest in them. And look at our ne-
groes now; and our schools. Here in Austin we've got a
junior high school for them that is one of the best equipped
schools in the country; and there hasn't been a ripple of
trouble here for 20 years. They're not leaving us to go
north, either.""

The subject of federal aid for the education of the colored people
was being discussed by the educators of the day. In a meeting of the
Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association
which was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1918, J. H. Dillard,
director of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, submitted the following plan
in regard to this aid: (1) let the aid be offered in fifteen states, as
follows: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, . . . and Texas; and (2) let

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7Houston Post, September 23, 1917.
the aid be given for salary of teachers in public schools of all grades. With increase of salary, the length of term should take care of itself.

Besides the educational work that was being done in academics, much thought was being given to the health of the people and the training of nurses. Ten hospitals and nurses' training schools had been established and with a few exceptions these schools were conducted by Negroes.

Nurses were sent out from these hospitals and training schools to work among the people of the state, which proved to be an important factor in the improvement of the health of the Negroes. These hospitals were located at the following places in Texas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hospital</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moore Sanitarium</td>
<td>Galveston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians' and Surgeons' Infirmary</td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Sanitarium</td>
<td>Houston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright-Cuney Memorial Nurses' Training School</td>
<td>Dallas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tent Colony for Colored People</td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margan-Busch Sanitarium</td>
<td>Dallas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booker Washington Sanitarium</td>
<td>Gainesville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Sheppard's Sanitarium</td>
<td>Marshall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hubbard Sanitarium</td>
<td>Galveston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Hospital</td>
<td>Houston</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three homes had also been established for the care of adults and children which admitted Negroes. These homes were the Home for Destitute Children and Aged Persons, the House of Refuge, and the Salvation Army Rescue Home, all located in San Antonio, Texas.⁸

Many gifts and funds were being set aside by various foundations for the education of the Negro. The Phelps-Stokes Fund chartered in 1911 by the bequest of Acroline Phelps Stokes had done much in collecting information on Negro educational conditions. The Rosenwald Fund, established in 1914, confined its work to assisting in the building of school houses for the colored people. This plan was to give a sum not exceeding $300 to any community toward the cost of a new school building provided the people of the community, out of public or private funds, should raise an equal sum. Up to June 1, 1919, 751 school houses had been built in eleven Southern States at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars.

The special report of the Federal Bureau of Education on the investigation of Negro education in 1914-1915 summarized its recommendations by saying, "The most urgent need of the colored schools of Texas is for trained teachers." Little attention had been given to this matter, and most of the teachers came from Prairie View State Normal School, the various private institutions which trained teachers, the city high

schools, and the summer normal institutions; therefore, only a few
had any professional training. 9

The Smith-Hughes law for the promotion of vocational training
was passed in 1917. This fund was supplemented by the Smith-Lever
law for the support of extension work in agriculture and home economics
outside the schools. The people who were familiar with conditions real-
ized that the chief hope of the South, in so far as its agricultural pros-
perity was concerned, lay in the efficiency of its Negro farm labor.
The old antagonism between industrial and classical education was fad-
ing away. People were beginning to feel that the majority of every race
needs to be trained for skillful handwork and also to be given such dis-
cipline of the mind and conscience as shall insure thoughtfulness and
trustworthiness; that in every race the especially talented minority
should rise into the professions of teaching, preaching, law, medicine,
engineering, etc., and they should be well trained for their work. The
progress that had been made along these lines was surprising. The
best white people of the South were giving proof of their belief in Negro
education by their deeds as well as by their words.

The Slater Fund was co-operating in the maintenance of the "county
training schools" which were rural high schools emphasizing industrial
training. The General Education Board was giving liberally toward

9Eby, op. cit., pp. 278-280.
equipping these county schools. It also was providing the salary of
the state agents for the rural schools of Texas. These agents were
white men working under the state superintendents of public instruction,
and were responsible for the care and improvement of the Negro rural
schools, and had a great influence for good. 10

In 1911 Prairie View Normal College had a campus of 1,500 acres
of land, 300 of which were in cultivation, the work being done by the
students. The school had a staff of twenty-three teachers, and it not
only provided for the training of teachers, but also for the teaching of
industrial trades and professions as well. The enrollment was 538
students, with the appropriation for support and maintenance being
$23,975. Five thousand students had graduated by 1911. 11

Business Enterprises

Agriculture. — The main activity of the Negroes of Texas in
1910 was still agriculture. There were 69,918 farms operated by these
people which was an increase of 6.6 per cent over the 1900 figures.
Thirty and three-tenths per cent of these farms were operated by own-
ers, 0.2 per cent by managers, and 69.5 per cent by tenant farmers.
This picture was practically as it was in 1900, since there was less
than 0.1 per cent change in each of the three classes of farmers. The


11 Texas Almanac, 1911, p. 100.
percentage of managers and tenant farmers had increased slightly, but the number of farm owners had decreased 0.4 per cent from the 1900 figures. The total number of acres in cultivation by the colored people had increased 447,684 acres with an increase of 1.2 per cent of improved land.

The increase in cultivated acreage was probably due to the increase in the Negro population of the state; however, there was an increase in the value of these farms. There had been a 16.9 per cent increase in land, buildings, and farm machinery value since 1900. Their methods of farming had improved, and instead of the old-fashioned and simple implements, such as the hoe and hand muscles of the days of 1900, better equipment was being used. All farms were now being cultivated by work animals, the total number of work horses being 73,857 and that of work mules, 69,079. They also had more livestock on their farms. Besides the work animals mentioned above, they had 100,136 dairy cows, which represented a financial increase as well as a more healthful living for these people. Cotton and corn were still the main crops of these farmers. There were 738,924 acres now in corn and 1,358 acres in cotton.  

**Negro banks and insurance companies.** — The interest in the Negro banks and insurance companies that was aroused in

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earlier years was still running high and definite progress in ownership of these concerns was realized in Texas. Four banks and two insurance companies were owned and controlled by Negroes. The banks were the Farmers' and Citizens' Savings Bank, Palestine; the Farmers' Improvement Bank, Waco; the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, Tyler; and the Twentieth Century State Bank and Trust Company, Houston. The American Mutual Benefit Association and the Standard American Fire Insurance Company, both of Houston, were owned and operated by Negroes.  

Negro business. --- Even though agriculture was the main occupation of the Negroes in Texas by 1910, many of them had branched out into many other means of livelihood. Table 2, taken from the 1910 census reports, gives the number of colored people engaged in the different occupations in Texas. The table reveals that the great majority of these people were engaged in the lower types of work, the greater part of them in such labor as servants, laundresses, delivery services, waiters, and seamstresses. However, a few had entered such professions as teaching, the clergy, medicine, and civil service work.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number Engaged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barbers and hair dressers</td>
<td>2,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmakers</td>
<td>1,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeepers and stewardesses</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keepers of boarding houses</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keepers of restaurants</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundresses and launderers not employed</td>
<td>28,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in laundries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwives and nurses, not trained</td>
<td>872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives in laundries</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>24,152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitresses and waiters</td>
<td>1,734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>1,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauffeurs</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks in stores</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delivery men</td>
<td>2,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elevator operators</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firemen</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitors</td>
<td>987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2---Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number Engaged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musicians and teachers of music</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained nurses</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergymen</td>
<td>1,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and civil service</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mail carriers</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Business League.---The National Negro Business League that was organized in 1900 for the purpose of stimulating and increasing Negro business enterprises continued to meet annually in various parts of the country. In these meetings Negro businessmen were brought before the public. Many Negroes who would not otherwise have been interested were influenced by knowing what other Negroes were doing in the field of business. By 1918 the following chartered Negro business leagues had been organized in Texas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>President</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>J. H. Steward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarksville</td>
<td>J. W. Jamison</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Labor unions. — In 1910 a resolution was unanimously passed inviting Negroes into the National Council of the American Federation of Labor. At this time the officers of the Federation were instructed to take measures to see that Negro workmen were brought into the union. This action was reaffirmed again in 1913. Many years prior to this time the American Federation of Labor had declared for the thorough organization of all working people without regard to sex, religion, race, politics, or nationality; they had made every effort within

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their power for bringing about the organization of the workers of the United States.

In the annual Federation conventions of 1916, 1917, and 1918, the question of the Negroes and the labor unions was considered, and steps were taken to organize Negroes not then affiliated with the unions. At the annual convention in 1919 it was formally decided to open the doors of organized labor unconditionally to Negroes.

Police force. — That the Negroes were gaining recognition with the white people of Texas was shown by the fact that Austin, Houston, and Galveston were using Negro probation officers to work in connection with the juvenile courts. Negro police women were also being used in the city of San Antonio, Texas. 15

Politics. — The editorials of every large newspaper of the state showed an overwhelming sentiment in favor of suffrage for women; yet, twelve Congressmen from Texas voted against the proposed amendment to the Constitution. Probably these men had been away from Texas for the period of the war and did not realize the work the women of Texas had done to bring about the conclusion of the war. These men also knew that a large number of Negro women would be given the vote. The popular attitude toward this question of Negro women voting was to require educational qualifications for the franchise greater than the Negro women could meet.

15 Work, op. cit., p. 53.
The Texas Legislature granted suffrage to women in 1917, and immediately the Negro women of the state began preparing to take advantage of the franchise. The Colored Welfare League of Austin gave instruction in connection with the new suffrage law, and the Negro Women Voters' League of Galveston held a mass meeting for the purpose of arousing interest in registering among Negro women.

The vote for the Negro women was not to be won so easily. When they presented themselves for registration at Houston, Texas, on July 3, 1918, they were informed that the law was specific in stating that only white women were eligible to register, and that they would not be able to vote in the white primary, which was to be held on July 27th. As a result of this treatment, the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met the same day and drew up the following attorney's document:

July 3, 1918

Hon. Tax Collector in and for
Harris County, Texas,
City of Houston.

Dear Sir:

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, acting in behalf of the prospective women voters of the colored race in Houston and Harris County respectfully calls your attention to the refusal in your office, July 3, 1918, to allow colored women to register for suffrage rights the year 1918.

We protest against this refusal at your hands, or at the hands of your office force, and ask that provisions be made and that colored women be allowed registration to which we believe they are entitled under the law.
House Bill No. 105, Chapter 35, of the General Laws passed by the Fourth Called Session of the Thirty-fifth Legislature, provides in Section 1: From and after the passage of this Act any woman, who possesses the other qualifications of an elector under the Constitution and laws of this State, shall have the right to vote at any and all primary elections or nominating conventions held under the laws of this State, and the fact of her sex shall in no wise disqualify such person, provided the payment of a poll tax shall in no case be required of such persons, as a qualification to vote in such primary elections or to participate in such nominating conventions during the year 1918.

We ask for our portion under the law, and shall contend for same until a rightly constituted authority says that we are not within our right under the law; but until we are given such adverse decision by such authority, we shall spare no pains to secure for our women this right which seems plain under the law.

Trusting that you will at once give this matter your attention, and that it may be properly adjusted without further ado, we are,

Very respectfully,

Houston Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

As the committee was preparing to return to the registration office with the document, it was informed that a mistake had been made and that the Negro women would be registered. 16

When the colored women of Waxahachie, Texas, presented themselves for registration on July 8th, they were refused permission to register by the tax collector, who asked a ruling from the Attorney-General of Texas. The ruling was that Negro women be allowed to register under the new law.

16 Ibid., pp. 60-67.
The leaders of the Negro race urgently requested the colored people to qualify as voters and then demand and exercise the franchise rights of citizens. The editor of the Houston Observer, a Negro publication, in an editorial said:

Once more it is our manifest duty to call our race's attention to the urgent necessity of providing its citizenship and its rights to cast a vote in the elections of 1919 by qualifying under the laws of Texas through the payment of the poll tax. No man or woman can vote during 1919 who fails to pay his or her poll tax before February 1, 1919. We have complained a great deal (and rightly so, too) about the many un-American and undemocratic practices heaped upon our race, but as long as we refuse to qualify as voters and then demand the exercise of our elective rights, we cannot consistently hold anyone responsible for our sad and lamentable plight but ourselves. 17

The Negroes bitterly condemned the white primaries, because it was these primaries that imposed many political restrictions upon them. The Atlanta Independent expressed its sentiment toward such action in the following words:

One of the strangest things occurred here Wednesday, 10th instant. There was a primary election in which only white citizens were allowed to vote. There was also a bond issue pending in which it was desired that $800,000 bonds be voted for water works, etc. Our white neighbors had prominent men urging Negroes to turn out and vote for the bonds, yet they were denied the right to vote in the primary. It was all right enough for them to vote for the bonds, but they were not good enough to vote for the men who are to rule them in this city for the next two years.

The Houston Observer expressed the following opinion:

17 Ibid.
This "White man's primary" is nothing more nor less than disfranchisement for while it presumably excludes colored men because of party affiliation, on the other hand white republicans can vote and do vote in all the city and county elections. Hence you see it is not a party issue, but a racial issue. The colored citizens of Houston are anxious, as other American citizens, and they will not be satisfied until the present system is abolished and a more democratic one inaugurated. 18

W a r s. --- When plans were made for mobilizing an overseas army for the First World War, the problem of using the Negro as a soldier became prominent. Some believed that the Negro should not be used at all, but if used, it should be for work only. When the universal service bill came before the Congress in 1917, some of the Southern Congressmen expressed their feelings as follows:

We of the South cannot stand for inclusion of Negroes in the universal service plan. It would bring down upon the districts where Negroes far exceed the whites in number a danger far greater than any foreign foe. The universal service plan so far proposes that, following one year of active training, the men would return to their homes carrying guns and equipment with them, to remain members of the reserve, subject to a call to arms. This would accomplish the very thing which the South has always fought against, the placing of arms in the hands of a large number of Negroes and the training of them to work together in organized units.

When the draft regulations were passed, they applied to Negroes the same as to whites. Both races were required to register at the same place and at the same time. There was a great deal of discussion and agitation with reference to where the Negro troops were to be

18 Ibid.
trained; the question arose as to whether they were to be placed in the same camps with the white troops or in separate camps. Would they be trained in the camps nearest the place where they were drafted, or should those drafted in the South be sent to camps in the South, or in the North?

The total number of colored registrants for the First World War was 166,446, which represented 16.82 per cent of the total registrants. Of this number, 31,506 colored men from Texas were inducted into the armed forces between June 5, 1918, and November 11, 1918.19

Interracial problems.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that was organized in 1900 carried on active propaganda against lynchings. Each lynching was investigated and the results were published in the newspapers. Then communications and letters were sent to the Governor of the state asking that steps be taken to apprehend the lynchers. These records received wide publicity through the press of the country.

When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met in its annual convention in 1917, it was reported that four notable investigations had been conducted during the past year. One of these investigations was that of the "Waco Horror," when, on May 8, Jesse Washington was burned alive in the public square at Waco, Texas, with 15,000 people looking on.

19Ibid., p. 217.
The San Antonio Express, a Texas newspaper, established an anti-lynching fund of $100,000. A reward of $500 was to be paid to any person who should be directly responsible for the arrest of any person or persons who were instrumental in arousing a mob to commit a lynching. This fund was to be used in combatting the crime of lynching in the United States, and was not limited to Texas. A reward of $1,000 was to be paid to each person who was directly responsible for the arrest, with subsequent conviction and punishment of any persons who were instrumental in arousing a mob to commit a lynching or in putting through the lynching itself, when the individual was a Negro. This offer of reward was to go into effect for a period of five years beginning August 2, 1918. 20

20 Ibid., p. 78.
CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC EVOLUTION, 1920-1930

Professional Enterprises

Population. — By 1920 the percentage of the Negro population in the United States was slowly decreasing. There had been only a 7 per cent increase in the last ten years, while the increase for the years between 1900 and 1910 had been 11.2 per cent. This brought the Negro population to 741,694, which was 15.9 per cent of the total population.¹ This percentage in 1910 was 17.7 per cent. These figures show that the Negro population had increased slowly during the last few census enumerations, yet it had decreased in proportion to the total national population. This situation was caused by so little migration from the states of the Old South into Texas during the past few years and by the Negro migration to the North. More than twice as many colored people were living in the country than in the towns in 1920, yet there had been a greater increase in the urban population during the preceding ten years. During these ten years there had been an increase of only 7,136 in the rural sections, with 34,511 increase in the urban districts. This was probably due to the fact that


45
more and more of the Negroes were entering occupations other than farming. Most of these colored people were living principally in the eastern, southern, and southeastern sections of the state and extending westward through the eastern half of Central Texas.  

**Education.**—Progress was still being made in the education of the Texas Negro by 1920. The 24.6 per cent illiteracy of 1910 had dropped to 17.8 per cent by 1920, which was a 6.8 per cent decrease.

In 1920 there were 279,468 Negro children between the ages of five and twenty years living in the state. Fifty-seven and eight-tenths per cent of these children were attending school, which was an increase of 9.2 per cent of attendance over the 1910 figures.  

Table 3, on the following page, shows the gradual increase and advancement in the Negro educational system of the state. This table reveals that the per capita apportionment had been increased $10.25 in the past ten years. There had been an increase of only twenty-four Negro high schools, but the increase in the number of graduates had been 416, which shows the fact that the Negroes were more concerned about the education of their youth. There had been an increase of 514 Negro classroom teachers since 1910.

During the school term of 1920-1921 the Negro schools were given $283,239 in equalization aid. This amount was calculated at 15 per cent

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2 Texas Almanac, 1928, p. 59.

TABLE 3
NEGRO EDUCATIONAL GROWTH IN TEXAS SINCE 1900, UP TO AND INCLUDING 1920-1921 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases of Growth</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900-1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita apportionment</td>
<td>$4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equalization aid</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of classroom</td>
<td>3,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average salary of</td>
<td>$225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of high schools</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of high-school</td>
<td>No record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*From Census Division, Texas Education Agency.

of the total population, which per cent was the amount of relationship the Negro scholastics bore to the total scholastics of the state.  

Industrial training was gaining ground in the secondary schools for Negroes in Texas. All the better schools for girls were offering

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4 Clyde L. King, The American Negro Annals, p. 214.
cooking and sewing. In some schools these courses were compulsory for every student. Most all of the schools included woodwork, manual training, or carpentering for the boys. Agriculture was generally offered. Table 4 lists the newer subjects being taught and the number of schools in the state teaching these new subjects in 1920.

**TABLE 4**

**NEW SUBJECTS BEING TAUGHT IN THE NEGRO SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF TEXAS IN 1920 AND THE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS OFFERING THESE NEW SUBJECTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Subjects</th>
<th>Number of Schools Offering Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manicuring and hairdressing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical drawing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron work or blacksmithing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop repairing</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping and typewriting</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailoring</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millinery or hat making</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canning</td>
<td>At least 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal husbandry</td>
<td>At least 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Subjects</th>
<th>Number of Schools Offering Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basketry</td>
<td>At least 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipe fitting</td>
<td>At least 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broom making</td>
<td>At least 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is apparent from the above table that considerable experimentation along trade and industrial lines had been going on for several years. However, these fields of study and training needed more attention as better equipment was needed in the private institutions and high schools, and more opportunity for the students to specialize in particular trades.  

The Slater Fund was co-operating with the public school authorities in the maintenance of the so-called "county training schools," which were rural high schools emphasizing industrial training. From 1881 to 1925 appropriations from this source for Texas schools amounted to $96,790.

In 1919-1920 the General Education Board gave $61,290 toward the equipment of these county training schools. This fund also

5Frederick Eby, The Development of Education in Texas, pp. 271-272.
supplemented the resources of the Jeanes Fund, aided some fifty summer schools for Negro teachers, contributed annually to about sixteen colored colleges and normal schools, and provided the salaries of the state agents for rural colored schools in most of the Southern states, including Texas. This Board was disbursing almost a million dollars annually for the benefit of Negro education.  

Not all the work in the field of education was being done on the secondary level, because the Negroes were striving for higher education, as was indicated by the work done in their colleges, even though some of this work seemed slow and hard. In 1925 there were eight colleges attempting to do work of standard grade, but only three of these were recognized by the State Department of Education, and their courses accepted for the certification of teachers. The senior colleges offering four full years of work were the Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, Bishop College, Wiley University, Mary Allen Seminary for Girls, Texas College, Paul Quinn College, and Samuel Huston College. There were only 129 college students enrolled during the term of 1914-1915. This was a surprising fact, as a number of these colleges had been in operation for over a generation. However, the attendance for 1921-1922 showed a marked increase with an enrollment of over six hundred students. This increase

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was due to the same causes which had operated in the white institutions: high wages after the war, thus furnishing more students with the means for higher culture; the broadening of the curriculums in offering more industrial training; federal aid in assisting ex-soldiers; and the acceptance of the work of Negro colleges for teachers' certificates.

Some of the well-known leaders in Negro education in Texas at this time were I. C. Anderson and Edward L. Blackshear, both having served as principals of the Prairie View Normal and Industrial College. One of the most gifted products of the race was Wright-Cuney, who was a leader in the state and national Republican politics and one who occupied high municipal and federal offices in Galveston. He revealed an intelligent interest in the education of his people, and his work was highly effective. He was held with respect by all citizens of the state.

The Colored Teachers' Association, which was organized in 1884, had held meetings in the principal cities and towns of the state, had done a great work in influencing the public mind, and had given the colored teachers a more reputable and influential footing among their own people. The records of these meetings show a relatively high order of educational understanding.

Great progress was being made in the training of teachers. This progress had been influenced greatly by the report of the Federal Bureau of Education stating the standards for colored teachers. The
State Department of Education also set a definite standard for colleges preparing teachers and brought these institutions under inspectional classification. Prairie View, Wiley University, and Bishop College were authorized by the state to conduct courses for which state certificates were granted. These schools were greatly stimulated and developed by the aid of the Smith-Hughes fund. The Slater Fund, the Jeanes Fund, the General Education Board, and private individuals also directed their attention to this work and supplied means for the training of teachers. The private institutions organized normal departments and made the training of teachers one of their chief functions; summer schools for teachers were opened; six or more county training schools were placed in operation; and the summer normal institutes were given careful supervision by the State Department.

In spite of the fear and opposition, industrial education had prevailed to a very large extent in the state colleges and had been included in some of its forms in all of the private institutions. In addition to the staple subjects of the old academic school, many new lines were being attempted, and it was remarkable how industrial education had grown in the past few years. 7

The Smith-Hughes law for the promotion of vocational training and the Smith-Lever law for the support of instruction in agriculture

7Eby, op. cit., pp. 272-279.
and home economics were operating effectively for the Negroes in the rural sections. Work in these two fields was being carried on outside of the schools. People who were familiar with the conditions realized that the chief hope of the South, in so far as its agricultural prosperity was concerned, lay in increasing the efficiency of its Negro farm labor. This meant more and better education in the schools and a general lifting of the standards of household life. The amount of the Smith-Hughes federal allotment spent on Negro education in Texas in 1920 was $25,782.77. The total amount in 1926 and each year thereafter was $51,307.43.  

The old antagonism between industrial and classical education was fading away. People understood that the majority of every race needed to be trained for skillful handwork and also to be given such discipline of the mind and conscience as would insure thoughtfulness and trustworthiness. They believed that the talented minority of every race should rise into the professions of teaching, preaching, law, medicine, engineering, etc., and that they should be well trained for their work. The white people, both of the South and the North, were giving proof of this philosophy and of their belief in Negro education by their deeds as well as by their words. 

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The work of the colleges of the colored people was showing progress in many lines. The curriculum had undergone a marked change with its expansion and enrichment, particularly along more conservative attitudes. Cultural work had been emphasized until recent years and several colleges still made Latin compulsory in all their courses. Seven continued to teach Greek in the preparatory department, a subject which had long disappeared from every white secondary school in Texas. Bible teaching was usually found, and frequently a department of music. Some of these colleges continued to cling to the old ideals of culture and classical training, due probably to some isolation of these institutions from the main currents of educational progress. However, under the new system of classification by the State Department of Education, and the federal aid for vocational work, since the war, a radical change had taken place.

The campus of Wiley University consisted of sixty acres with fourteen buildings. The total value of the property and equipment was approximately $200,000. In 1921, 541 students were enrolled and of this number 233 were below the tenth grade. By 1925, 15,000 students had attended Wiley University since its inception in 1873. Like all the colored institutions of Texas at this time, many of these students were of elementary rank. The secondary course had been designed

\[10\] Eby, op. cit., p. 273.
wholly to prepare for college, and required four years of Latin of all who wished to work for the A. B. degree. Two years of Latin were required for the B. S. degree and for teachers' certificates. A special course for girls afforded instruction in sewing, dressmaking, millinery, and domestic science. Some industrial training was given the boys. The president and all the faculty of Wiley University were of the Negro race. This institution had been recognized by the board of examiners of the State Department of Education as a college of first class, and those who completed the professional requirements were awarded state certificates valid not only in the State of Texas but also in several contiguous states. The college was held in high esteem by all who knew of its work.

Tillotson College offered courses of both the collegiate and secondary levels. The course of study, while fairly narrow in range, was more modern in requirements than in some of the other schools. Industrial work in some form was required throughout both the elementary and secondary grades. Courses were offered in woodwork, mechanical drawing, printing, agriculture, domestic science, domestic arts, and home nursing. The student body had never been large, as only about 272 students had been graduated from the secondary department and twenty-five from the college. In 1921-1922 there were 242 students enrolled with 165 being below the tenth grade. All of the
instructors belonged to the white race, and the college had been ranked as a junior college by the State Department of Education.

Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, located near the town of Hempstead in Waller County, had 1,435 acres in woodland, pasture, and farms. About 365 acres of this land were under cultivation, producing the crops that usually grow in that section of Texas. Six buildings were added to the college in 1924 and 1925. These buildings were the veterinary hospital, the science building, the college exchange, the elementary training school, a home economics practice cottage, and a music conservatory. The college had greatly raised its standard of work and was doing more for industrial and trade training than any other institution of its kind in the state. Its departments of agriculture, mechanics, cooking, and dressmaking were well equipped and efficiently conducted. The school was offering four regular courses extending over four years each. These courses consisted of the normal arts course, the household arts course, the agriculture course, and the mechanical course. In addition to these, the following trade courses were being offered, extending over a period of only one year each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Blacksmithing</th>
<th>Shoemaking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheelwrighting</td>
<td>Printing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet making</td>
<td>Tailoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentering</td>
<td>Power-plant machinery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Steam laundering
Dry cleaning
Hat making
Dairying
Sewing
Millinery

Plumbing
Automobile repairing
Broom and mattress
making
Trucking
Canning

The library facilities, chemical and physical laboratories, and museums of natural history were among the best in the Negro institutions of the state.

In 1922 eight men and six women were granted degrees from Prairie View. By 1925 it had trained approximately two thousand graduates, and four hundred who had received trade certificates. It had produced many good teachers, as was reflected by the character of the teacher training in that part of the country.

The institution was under the management of the board of regents of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, of which it was a part. The college had a colored faculty. The ranking of the institution, however, was in doubt and it was listed by the State Department as a junior college. 12

The campus of Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas, consisted of twenty acres, part of which was used for truck gardening. Most of the students were of elementary grade, with only a few taking secondary

11 Ibid., pp. 273-279.  
12 Ibid.
work; while real college work was lacking. The president and faculty were Negroes, and the institution had not yet been recognized by the State Department.

The campus of Bishop College, Marshall, Texas, consisted of twenty-three acres, on which were ten buildings. Three courses were being offered: the classical, the scientific, and the course in education. In 1921-1922 there were 287 students in all with eighty-eight taking regular degree work. The work of the college had been recognized by the State Department.

Samuel Huston College, Houston, Texas, had a large elementary and secondary enrollment and a number of students of college grade. The Eliza Dee Industrial Home for Girls was connected with the institution and was getting recognition for doing a high grade of work. Industrial training, especially in tailoring and manual training, was offered to boys. The faculty, all of whom were Negroes who had graduated from the best institutions of the North, had won the overwhelming confidence of both the white and the colored people of the state. The institution was seeking recognition from the state board of examiners for the training of teachers.

The white people had decided that the illiterate Negro was a menace to his community, and that if he did not know enough to avoid the contaminations of disease and vice, he would frequently become diseased and vicious, and thus the carrier and disseminator of every
kind of evil. Thus they had become more concerned about the education of the Negro. Yet, there was still much to be done. Even though the support given to Negro schools from the tax funds was distinctly more generous than it used to be, the distribution of public money for school purposes was still regrettably unequal, the per capita expenditure in the Southern States for white children being four times that for colored children in 1920. Wherever separate schools existed, they existed to the detriment of the Negroes, in the length of term, equipment, and preparation and pay of teachers. The state made almost no provision for the training of Negroes as compared with the whites. It not only neglected to do its duty from the funds of its own treasury, but in some instances it actually stole from the Negro the share which the government appropriated for his education.

It was known that the Negro was still backward, but he was steadily moving forward, and even though he was still below the other race in point of ability, he was gradually moving up. The Negro's inferiority was found to be at the bottom of the Negro problem, but this inferiority was actually being reduced. The other element in this problem was that of the prejudice against the Negro. This prejudice seemed to have its root in the Negro's inferiority and seemed to have increased in recent years.

While it could not be predicted with certainty that the Negro would eventually reach a state of complete inherent equality with the white
man, neither could it be maintained that this was outside the range of possibility.

The state Negro nurses were doing much to improve the health of their people. After a three-year program of public health nursing in Texas, a Negro itinerant nurse was added to the staff of nurses of the State Board of Health. Another nurse was added to the staff in 1922 and still another in 1925. These nurses went into a county, got in touch with the leaders of their race, organized a committee whose purpose was to assist with the work and to carry on under the supervision of the county nurse. These itinerant nurses also organized adult classes, prenatal and child health conferences, did school work in the lower grades in order to get contacts in the homes, and held midwife classes. The midwives were a serious problem as they were not under any supervision. They were ignorant and superstitious, very set in their beliefs, and were careless as well as filthy. In 1925, 1,473 Negro midwives were reached by the nurses. Classes were held to instruct these women with the chief aim being to teach cleanliness, proper care of the mother and infant, the use of prophylactic drops in the eyes of the newborn, and how to register births. Very little attention had been given to the registration of births before this time. By comparison, it was discovered that one out of nineteen white children died before reaching one year of age, while one out of eleven Negro children died before reaching the same age.
The nurse was doing much to decrease contagious diseases and to improve housing conditions in the homes and in the schools. Her value in Texas was inestimable and the people were very grateful and responded in every way when called upon. Health education as a whole had advanced more in the last five years than in the previous twenty-five years in Texas. Yet there was a total of 7,702 deaths among the colored people as compared with the 8,149 births.

Business Enterprises

Agriculture.—In the twenties there were 518,321 Negro people living in the rural areas, whereas 223,373 lived in the urban districts. The colored farm population was 385,468. Twenty-eight and eighteen-hundredths per cent of these people lived on owned farms; 0.40 per cent on managed farms; and 71 per cent on tenant farms. Table 5 presents the distribution of the farm population in the years 1910 and 1920.

This table, shown on the following page, reveals that there was not much change in the status of the farm population during the period from 1910 to 1920. There were a few more farm managers and tenant farmers, but 2.6 per cent fewer farm owners. There was an increase in home ownership in the state. In 1920 there were 210,795 Negro

14 Texas Almanac, 1928, p. 115.
TABLE 5

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO FARM POPULATION AS TO OWNERS, MANAGERS, AND TENANT FARMERS IN THE YEARS 1910 AND 1920*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Managers</th>
<th>Tenants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


families living in the state with 30 per cent of this number living in owned homes, as compared with a 23.9 per cent Negro home ownership for the entire United States. During this ten-year period the number of homes owned by Texas Negroes increased at the rate of 28 per cent as compared with an increase of 15.3 per cent in the Negro population during the period. There were 42,217 non-farm homes owned by Negroes in the state with a median value of $1,010. More non-farm homes valued from $10,000 to $20,000 and over were owned by Negro families in Texas than in any other Southern State, not including the District of Columbia.

By this time the state realized that the new system of tenant farming that was set up following the Civil War had received its death
sentence. Southern agriculture had been affected by the general low state of farming throughout the nation. The fertility of much of the cotton-growing soil had been washed away. Most of it would not produce even an existence for those who worked it. This economic evolution was almost as great as the emancipation of the slaves. This change in agriculture affected the colored people profoundly. Empty cabins and non-cultivated farms were common in many sections because the Negroes were leaving the farms.

This is not all the story, however, for in a few other sections the Negroes were finding a place in the new system of diversified farming. They had changed from share-croppers to agricultural wage earners. The relation of the share-cropper to the landlord was based upon a verbal contract and a system of credit by which the cropper received an advance for food and clothing that was to be deducted from his share of the crop. The reputation of many of the landlords was questionable, and the amount charged for food and clothing and other supplies advanced depended upon their honesty. On the other hand, if there were no crop due to a bad season or the neglect of the tenant, the landlord was "out" whatever he had advanced. This system was bad for both the owner and the tenant.

There were many farms on which diversification was succeeding, and the Negroes on these farms had a fixed income. For the first time
in their lives such Negroes had some actual money. They had a chance
to handle money and to know its value. The old indefinite annual set-
tlement was becoming a weekly or monthly payment of cash wages.
The capital investment had brought closer supervision and had given a
place of greater importance to reliable farm labor. Diversification
demanded constant application, which made the work fairly regular the
year round. The housing for these farmers had improved, and better
Negro schools were being built. Under diversification farming was be-
coming a business with intelligence and capital back of it. 15

Business league.---The term "Negro business" might be de-
 fined as business conducted by Negroes and patronized by Negroes.
This was another means by which the race had improved its status and
the term had come into general use. The majority of Negro business
concerns were small and short-lived, and there were many failures;
yet the progress they were making was creditable. They had to learn
by the trial-and-error method, as they were without business experience.
Credit had to be established and many times they had to compete with
established and well-financed white concerns. Even with these hard-
ships, interest in business was increasing among the Negroes and some
of the best-trained young men were seeking business careers. The
Business League was becoming intelligent in its efforts to overcome the

obstacles which Negro businessmen had to meet. A nation-wide survey with the most competent advice from government and business experts for the purpose of improving the methods and practices of Negro business had been established.

At this time the Negro business concerns had not been able to develop any considerable clientele outside of their own race. This situation was one of the problems which the Business League was trying to remedy. Because of the group consciousness that was being built up, there were increasing possibilities for the development of Negro business enterprises among their own people. 16

Negro insurance companies, banks, and chambers of commerce.—The number of banks and insurance companies operated by the Negroes were not numerous, but their significance was great, because of the amount of money they had accumulated, and the service they had rendered their people. In the year 1922 the South had about sixty Negro insurance companies, with assets of $6,500,000 and an annual income of $9,000,000. There were seventy-four Negro banks, with resources of $20,000,000.

The Negro Chamber of Commerce in Texas was organized in 1926 by E. J. Crawford and others. R. T. Hamilton, an outstanding leader for his race, also served as a leader of this organization. 17

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16 Ibid.

17 "Negroes' Economic, Social Status Keep Pace with City Development," Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1935.
Industry. — There had been a great move away from the domestic service even before the World War, and the wartime demand in industry greatly accelerated this move. Even before the war many Negroes were working in lumber camps, mines, iron mills, and all forms of industry. The coming of the war meant a new day for the Negro. They were needed in great numbers in factories, mines, munitions plants, docks, stockyards, freight yards, and many other places where they had not previously entered. Race was no hindrance when economic law made demands.

The effect of the war conditions upon Negro labor should be divided into three main parts: (1) the change in the relation of Negro wage-earners to white employers; (2) the change in the relation of Negro wage-earners to white wage-earners; and (3) the change in the Negro himself. In the first place, there were so many Negroes in the South before their migration North that when one worker dropped out or departed, it was an especially easy matter to secure another to fill his place. After the migration North and the increase of war demands, a shortage of labor followed. There arose a revolution for Negro labor because of this shortage, and Southern employers began to attach a new importance to the Negro wage-earner. A better understanding of the local Negro problems was achieved by the meeting of representatives of both races within the labor unions to discuss their troubles.
The second change in Negro labor was in the attitude of the white wage-earner toward the Negro laborer. A large number of white workmen passed on to the higher-paid occupations, and as a result, Negroes were freely admitted to many of the occupations formerly monopolized by white workers from which Negroes had been excluded. The demand for labor was so great that the fear of white workers toward the Negroes as their competitors at a lower wage was greatly lessened in many skills and in semi-skilled occupations. There was a prevalent idea that Negro wage-earners should be paid less than white wage-earners for the same work. The people who accepted this notion were overlooking the fact that the Negro bought his bread, butter, and beefsteak in the same market as other purchasers; that investigations had shown that he paid higher rent for similar houses; and that his clothing had to be bought at current prices in about the same quantity as that of other workers.

The change in the attitude of the white workmen was shown by their recognition of the Negro in white labor unions. Even though there still remained fear of competition in the future, the white wage-earners looked upon the entrance of Negroes into the higher grades of occupation with less opposition than existed before the war. The unions were opening their doors to Negro members.

The third effect of war conditions upon Negro labor was the effect upon the Negro himself. The first effect upon him was to increase his
mobility. When the war started, the immigration from Europe practically ceased and thousands of foreign-born went home in response to the call of their countries' needs. Therefore, the Northern employers who had depended upon the immigrants for labor found their supply vanishing. Their contracts for European war orders were increasing by leaps and bounds. The operators of Northern mines, factories, and railroads faced a serious labor shortage. They discovered an unworked labor supply in the Negroes of the South.

The effect of the war condition on Negro labor did more than this. There was created in the mind of Negro rural peasants and urban wage-earners a new opportunity to move freely from place to place. This migration broke down much of their timidity. It gave them the belief that they could move to another part of the country and succeed in gaining a foothold in its industrial life.

The change went even further. The Negro people received the impression that all kinds of work might at some time be open to them and that they need not be content with staying with poorer paid occupations, but might aspire to those requiring greater efficiency and affording more pay. This meant a great change in Negro life. Prior to this time Negro boys and girls dropped out of school in the lower grades because they repeatedly said there was no use in going any further, because they obviously could get only a menial job anyway, and they were already prepared for that type of employment.
By 1920 more and more Negro people were entering fields of employment other than agriculture. The number of people engaged in agriculture had dropped from 54.6 per cent in 1910 to 44.2 per cent in 1920. Table 6 indicates the employment status of the colored people in the major industries and occupational fields.

### TABLE 6

**EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE TEXAS NEGRO IN 1910 AND IN 1920 AND THE PER CENT INCREASE FROM 1910 TO 1920**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of Employment</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public service</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional service</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical occupations</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*J. P. Guzman, Negro Year Book, 1947, p. 13.*

As the percentage of the number of people engaged in agriculture decreased, the employment in other fields increased. Table 6, above,
shows the shift from agriculture to such occupations as manufacturing, transportation, trade, public service, professional service, and clerical occupations. The highest percentage of employment in these occupations was in the professional services, but the greatest increase during the last ten years had been in the field of manufacturing.

Table 7 on the following page reveals the types of business in which the Negro was engaged during the year 1929. Table 7 reveals that the greatest Negro business was in the restaurants and food groups. These two concerns employed by far the greatest number of people, with retail stores and automobile establishments next in line. There were very few colored people dealing in furniture and second-hand merchandise.

Labor unions. — For the first time to any marked extent white labor realized the necessity of making allies of colored workers. It became more and more evident that colored labor could not be treated as though it were a monstrosity or a rare specimen. It had been proven that the colored worker could do anything that the white worker could do. He had enlarged his sphere of opportunity in industry by doing satisfactorily the work allotted to him, and the color line had been swept irresistibly out of labor organizations. But the question was still debated as to whether the Negro was a good union man. He had been discriminated against until the industrial weight of his numbers and his competence made itself felt. It was not enough to
TABLE 7
TEXAS NEGRO BUSINESS DURING THE YEAR 1929 WITH THE NUMBER OF STORES, PROPRIETORS, EMPLOYEES, AND NET SALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Business</th>
<th>Number of Stores</th>
<th>Proprietors and Firm Members</th>
<th>Number of Full-time Employees</th>
<th>Per Cent of Net Sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food group</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>31.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General stores</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile group</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>10.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparel group</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture and household</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other retail stores</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>18.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-hand stores</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,736</td>
<td>1,963</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


train the Negro for industry, but the industry must be open to him upon a basis of justice. It had been the industrial part of the color line that had impeded the Negro's progress, but the start had been made toward correcting this feature of the race situation, and the American Federation
of Labor voted to grant unconditional membership to the Negro. This action was referred to as next in importance to the abolition of chattel slavery. This made it possible for the Negro workman to enter all of the skilled and better-paid trades without being hampered by discrimination. It was said that the admission of colored workmen into unqualified membership into the Federation was one of the most important steps taken by the Federation in many years. The war had brought many Negroes from positions as personal servants into actual industrial life, and many would not return to the former positions.

**Politics.**—About 30 per cent of the population of the states south of the Ohio River were Negroes, yet there was not a single Negro in Congress, nor was there any representation in any Southern state legislature. There was no representation even where the large majority of the population was Negro. The Negro did not want to "dominate," he only wanted to be heard. He wanted the right to express himself in making the laws and in administering them. The following quotation expresses the general attitude of the Negro concerning politics:

> A great deal of friction of race in the local community is due to the fact that the Negro had no chance to help administer the law... not even to do police duty in Negro neighborhoods. More than one race riot would have been averted if the community had been democratic enough to not give to people to do that duty who feel they should cower the Negro. So, I repeat, the Negro wants representation in the legislative and executive branches of our local, state,
and national governments, which their labor and their valor
have helped to create. They want it for themselves; they
want it that our democracy, as a democracy, shall not per-
ish from the earth.

The right to express opinion as to what laws shall
govern the democracy and who shall execute them is funda-
mental. It is notorious that where nine-tenths of the Negroes
live they are denied the right to vote, and in defiance of the
spirit of democracy. When the draft was applied in the South,
there was no distinction on account of color (except where Ne-
groes were sent to fill the quotas for which whites should have
been sent). Why should there be distinction when it comes to
applying the election law? The Negro who enrolled over one
million strong and went to France over two hundred and fifty
strong . . . the Negro who presented himself in the defense
of his country in larger proportion than the white man of the
South, wants to know why he should work and fight for de-
mocracy and cannot vote for it.

And this Negro will not be satisfied until he gets a
fair chance to vote. And until that chance is given, "Our
Democracy" is merely a shamed farce. For the Negro is
the acid test of our democracy.

The right of trial by one's peers is a cornerstone in
"Our Democracy," but the Negro does not have it. Every
year in "Our Democracy" hundreds of thousands of Negroes
are tried, but no Negro who knows Negro life, social condi-
tions, Negro psychology, etc., is ever called to sit on their
cases; but men who never enter a Negro home, who never
sit in a Negro church, who have nothing but contempt for
Negroes and at the very best are ignorant to Negro soul-
life, are their jurors. Do you wonder that so many are
condemned? Do you wonder that justice is so often mis-
trust of the courts? Do you wonder that a leading and power-
ful Negro paper refers often to the "Department of Justice"
as the "Department of Injustice"?

So the Negro wants to be and ought to be on the juries
of "Our Democracy" to preserve justice. 18

Interracial problems. — The subject of segregation was
prominent in the minds of both the whites and Negroes by the early

18 Julia E. Johnsen, The Negro Problem, pp. 95-96.
twenties. This segregation existed in travel, housing, education, religion, places of amusement, and business. Due to the hardships of the South following the Civil War, the railway and tramcar companies were not forced to provide separate accommodations for the two races. But by the twenties the South had become more prosperous, and the conviction arose that it would no longer be a hardship to require the transportation companies to provide separate accommodations. Consequently, different coaches were provided for the white and colored passengers. In some places where the traffic was not sufficiently great to justify the use of separate cars, one portion of each car was reserved for the colored people, and one for the whites. Neither was permitted to take possession of seats or to occupy coaches assigned to the other. The law required that there be no difference whatever in the comfort and safety of the cars or portions of cars reserved for each race.

The Negroes were given more consideration of travel when they were permitted to ride on the bus which operated between Marshall, Texas, and Shreveport, Louisiana. This was brought about through the influence of the white men of Marshall who were interested in interracial matters. This was a very great convenience for colored travel boarding trains out of Shreveport for the East. 19

The most significant aspect of race segregation in the Southern States was the rigid line of division between the residential areas occupied by the white and colored population. The natural disposition of the two races was to establish their homes apart, and the Negro quarter had always been a distinct community in itself. These quarters were near or on the outskirts of the town, and there was not even a white sprinkling among its inhabitants. The growth of the population gradually compelled these quarters to spread out. This movement usually began by a single colored family purchasing a house in the adjacent white block, which act created a desire among the white occupants to leave their homes, and the resulting vacancies were filled by Negro families, until a block that had previously been inhabited by whites was taken over by the colored race. Until this time no measure had been adopted to raise an insurmountable barrier between the two races, but because of the depreciation of the value of property, and because of resulting demands on the part of white residents, ordinances were adopted by all the large Southern cities that would not permit a Negro householder to take up his residence in any block in which two thirds of the inhabitants were white; and the white householder was not permitted to occupy a home in a block in which two thirds of the inhabitants were colored.

The effect of these ordinances was to concentrate the entire Negro population by permanently confining it to a definite locality of
its own. These ordinances were of municipal origin only and applied only within the cities. No Southern state had passed a law which provided for segregation in the city or rural districts. It was not hard to enforce this type of ordinance because its object was not to create a new condition, but to make permanent a condition that already existed; and the ordinance was as strictly enforced against the whites as against the colored; therefore, no objection of discrimination could be raised against it.

In 1926 the racial segregation ordinance of the city of Dallas was held void because it was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The courts held that the right to occupy, purchase, and sell property could not be prohibited solely because of the color of the proposed occupant. This decision was given when the Liberty Annex Corporation sought an injunction against the city to prevent the enforcement of the ordinance. The appellate court held that members of the white and Negro races might make agreements binding themselves under segregating contracts in regard to the sale, lease, or occupancy of lands, but that violators could not be punished under the statutes. 20

The following is the answer of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce and the sentiment of the Negroes of Dallas in regard to the decision of the Supreme Court:

As officers of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce, we wish to express to you the thanks and appreciation of our organization for the splendid editorial which appears in your issue of March 22 on the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on racial segregation.

The position taken by you on this question is the position taken by a big majority of thinking Negroes in it. We certainly have no desire to live as neighbors to white people, but we do desire paved streets, sewers, lights, gas and adequate police and fire protection in our section. If those in authority will see that we get these things in our district, 98 per cent of the segregation problem will be solved. New districts with these conveniences and protection, wherein we can expand unmolested, as our population grows, will solve the other 2 per cent. We trust that you will continue to help mold public sentiment along these lines.

R. T. Hamilton
W. E. Clarke

In 1927 the House of Representatives of Texas passed a Senate bill providing for the segregation of the white and Negro populations and conferring power on cities to pass suitable ordinances controlling it. It was lawful for Negroes and whites to enter into mutual agreements concerning their respective residence, and the power and authority were conferred on the governing body of any city to pass suitable ordinances requiring the observance of such agreements.

Residential segregation was a local regulation in every instance of its adoption, but this was not true of the segregation of the two peoples in public conveyances and in schools, as this separation had been enforced by legislative enactment. It applied to the town and country

21"Negroes for Segregation, But Ask for Clean Quarters," ibid., April 26, 1927.
22"Segregating Measure Is Approved by House," ibid., March 16, 1927.
alike. The separation of the two races in the schools supported by public taxation was required by the statutes of the state. Each had its own buildings. No colored pupils were admitted to white schools, and no white pupils were admitted to colored schools. The Negroes did not desire the co-education of the two races; therefore, they did not resent its legal prohibition. All the teachers of the colored schools were colored people who had enjoyed the best education in reach of their race at that time. If they had been deprived of the opportunity for a livelihood afforded them by the schools, they would have been compelled to turn to purely manual labor. They were aware of the fact that if white and colored pupils were permitted to be instructed in the same schools, the only teachers would have been white. All the officers of the secondary Negro schools were colored with the exception of the general superintendent, and all of the officers of the white schools were white except possibly the janitors. The schools were completely disconnected. This was not true of the institutions of higher learning, as some of the teachers in the colored schools were white, but there were no colored instructors in the white schools. Unlike the common schools, the higher institutions were not subject to the supervision of a white city or county superintendent or to the general oversight of boards of white persons. They were entirely independent.

The separation of the two races in their religious organizations was quite a different matter, as such segregation was entirely voluntary
on the part of the Negroes. No law had been enacted requiring that the two races worship separately.

Segregation was enforced in all places of public amusement. In most of the theaters no place was provided for the Negroes, and if such provision was made, it was so poor in character that most of the respectable class of Negroes did not attend. The only seats for the colored people were situated in the highest galleries and farthest removed from the stage. This situation was so bad that the colored people built theaters and assembly rooms for dancing of their own. Some of the places of amusement were of low character, but many of them compared very favorably with theaters of equal size for the white people. Ample provision was made for comfort and safety of the people, and in many of the bigger buildings, especially, the decorations were both ornate and artistic. The films used by white theater managers were also purchaseable by the colored. There were no accommodations for the whites in the colored theaters.

As the Negro race grew into more closely knitted communities, every branch of business that supplied their numerous wants fell more and more into the hands of enterprising individuals among their own race. All their restaurants were managed by their own people, and no white man or woman was ever seen taking a meal in these eating houses, and no colored person was ever seen taking a meal in white eating houses. These people operated their own chemist or drug
stores and looked to their own race for their only profits. They were also their own tailors, shoemakers, milliners, clothiers, and drapers. All their undertakers and barbers were of their own color.

In 1925 the Mayor of Dallas appointed a committee consisting of twelve men, six of whom were members of the interracial committee and three of whom were Negroes. This committee adopted the "Plan of Operation" for dealing with the Negro problem in Dallas. The plan was to make a complete survey of the community in which the problem existed and report the findings to the committee as a whole, and then find the next best step to take.

As a direct result of the activities of the interracial committee, a large paving program was carried out in the Negro districts. Roseland and Munger Avenues, Flora, Fuqua, and Boll Streets were completed and others were to be paved soon.

The fact that the white people were more tolerant of the colored race than ever before was shown in many ways. In 1926 Mayor Blaylock of Dallas refused to give hearing to those who protested against the use of the Fair Park Auditorium by Dallas Negroes under suitable occasions. The Dallas Morning News upheld this opinion in the following words:

"It seems to the News that he does well to ignore the objections thus raised. When the auditorium is open for hire"

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and negroes obtain it for creditable purposes, they ought not be discouraged.

On the whole, Dallas Negroes have been very well behaved. In many connections they show a greater tendency to obey the law than do white citizens. In the nature of things they are under certain handicaps which might embitter a race less given to the philosophy of humility and good will. It behooves white people all the more, therefore, to treat them with fairness and something of the old-time Southern generosity. It is good policy to do that. What is more, it is common decency. 24

In 1929 the following article on the Negro population appeared in the Dallas Morning News:

Litigation over race segregation on Thomas Avenue, and protests in South Dallas over the location of the proposed Negro high school are reminders that a major problem in real zoning is being given less thought, perhaps, than it deserves. We are going to have a Negro population in Dallas for a long time. Dallas Negroes are useful, industrious people, and Dallas needs them.

Segregation is absolutely essential. The thinking Negroes want segregation. But segregation that merely means that the Negro is crowded out of any place fit for a white man to live will not stand up. It isn't fair. It isn't wholesome. It isn't lawful. 25

Modern conveniences.—By the late twenties modern conveniences were being introduced in the Negro quarters of most of the large cities. In 1928 the Negroes of Waco were building rent houses with the thought of making them homes instead of houses. Electric lights and lawns were both admirable features of these homes.


25 "We Must Provide for Our Negroes," ibid., January 14, 1929.
There was a strictly Negro section in East Waco where water, sewerage, and electricity had been placed, and those who did not have modern conveniences petitioned the authorities for them. This was an encouraging feature which made living conditions better.

The city of Wichita Falls had installed water and sewerage in every outlying Negro addition to the city. Gas, telephone, and electricity were also accessible.

The economic welfare of the Negro was also being considered in Wichita Falls. A white laboring element of the city petitioned the City Council to give white laborers such work as the city might have, excluding Negroes and Mexicans. The Council promptly turned down this petition in an open statement to the public.26

The following article taken from the Dallas Morning News reveals the attitude of the white people of Dallas toward the Negro:

That Dallas is ready to build a $120,000 high school for Negroes shows that the school authorities want to make suitable provision for colored people here. That we have available now funds for a public library branch for Negroes as soon as they show some sort of interest in the location of it is further evidence that they have not been forgotten in expansion programs now under consideration. But Negro additions to Dallas, reliably promoted, moderately priced and honestly developed, are necessities and not nuisances. They are a matter of public concern. They ought to have as careful consideration in our city-wide plans as our parks, auditoriums, sewers, levee or any other feature of Greater Dallas.27


27 "We Must Provide for Our Negroes," Dallas Morning News, January 14, 1929.
CHAPTER V.

DEPRESSION ERA, 1930-1940

Professional Enterprises

Population. — The census population figures for 1930 gave 854,964 Negroes living in Texas. This was 14.7 per cent of the total population of the state at that time and 15.3 per cent increase over the 1920 census. Even though the colored population was steadily increasing, it showed a 1.2 per cent decrease in the total population of the state since 1920.¹ Table 8 gives the status of the Negro population from 1900 to 1930.

This table, presented on the following page, reveals that there was 11.2 per cent increase in the Negro population between 1900 and 1910, but there was less increase between 1910 and 1920, with a large increase between 1920 and 1930. In 1900 the Negro population was 20.4 per cent of the total population of the state with less than 1 per cent increase during the next ten-year period. Since 1910 there has been a steady decrease in the percentage of the Negro population of the state.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO POPULATION IN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE STATE FROM 1900 TO 1930 AND THE INCREASE IN THE NEGRO POPULATION DURING THESE YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total Population</th>
<th>Per Cent of Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these people were living east of a line drawn from Corpus Christi to San Antonio, and thence along the western edge of the blackland belt through Austin, Belton, Waco, Fort Worth, and Sherman. However, there had been a westward infiltration of Negroes following the expansion of the cotton-growing industry and the Negro was found scattered in small numbers throughout the western part of the state; yet the greatest density of Negroes was found along the eastern border of Texas. Colored people constituted 37 per cent of the total population of the following twelve counties: Harris, Dallas, Travis, Jefferson, Harrison, Tarrant, Bexar, Smith, McLennan,
Bowie, Galveston, and Navarro.\(^2\) Other areas of the state had larger or smaller percentages of Negro population.

In 1930 there were four counties in Texas in which the Negro population constituted fifty per cent or more of the total population. These counties were Gregg, Harrison, Marion, and San Jacinto.

There were only eleven counties out of the 254 in which there were no Negroes, and these were the ones that were sparsely settled. The census of 1930 ranked Texas fifth among the other states in the number of Negro inhabitants. The state had a larger urban population than any other Southern state. The Negro population was increasing, but not as rapidly as the white population.\(^3\)

**Education.** — Due to the increased school facilities and to the thorough work of the white and colored educators and citizens who so successfully conducted a campaign to stamp out illiteracy among the adults of all racial groups in the state, illiteracy had decreased to 13.4 per cent by 1930. This was a 4.4 per cent decrease since 1920. Of the 254 counties in the state, Gillespie and Rockwall reported the highest percentage of illiteracy. Of the cities in which there were 10,000 or more Negro inhabitants, Port Arthur had the highest percentage of illiteracy and San Antonio had the lowest.\(^4\) The percentage

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\(^2\)Ibid.


\(^4\)Ibid.
of illiteracy among the colored people of Texas from 1900 to 1930 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Illiteracy Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures indicate that there was a rapid decrease in the illiteracy among these people and what remained seemed to be mainly among the older people who had not had the advantage of the present-day educational facilities. Slowly the level of education among the Negroes was rising, which made an aggressive, impatient Negro who was not always understood by the white people. However, this education was producing a type of intelligent, self-respecting, self-reliant Negro leader who could think intelligently and act with wisdom regarding his own situations. This intelligence and self-control of the trained Negro was doing much to open doors of opportunity for his race, and this trained Negro was to help create a still newer South.

Attendance in the Negro schools had greatly increased in the past few years, particularly during the depression years, as indicated in Table 9. Negro boys and girls flocked to school during this time because jobs were not to be had; so, rather than be idle, they went to school. There had been a 24.8 per cent increase of school attendance since 1900 with the greatest increase being among the urban children.
TABLE 9

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE TEXAS NEGRO CHILDREN
BETWEEN THE AGES OF FIVE AND TWENTY YEARS
WITH THE INCREASE OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE
FROM 1900 TO 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Cent of Attendance</th>
<th>Increase in Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

San Antonio boasted of having 46 per cent of its colored children between the ages of five and twenty years in school. Houston had 45.7 per cent in school, and Dallas had 41.9 per cent.

Table 10 reveals a rapid financial growth of the colored secondary schools of Texas from 1920 to 1930. The number of high schools had increased from 150 in 1920 to 363 in 1930, with an increase of 1,573 classroom teachers. As the schools progressed, the number of graduates greatly increased, and the salaries of teachers advanced. The per capita apportionment had increased $3.00 during the last ten years and the equalization aid had more than tripled itself.


### TABLE 10

GROWTH OF THE COLORED SCHOOLS OF TEXAS
FROM 1900 TO 1930*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Capita Apportionment</th>
<th>Equalization Aid</th>
<th>Negro Teachers</th>
<th>Average Salary</th>
<th>Number of High Schools</th>
<th>Number of High School Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-1901</td>
<td>$4.25</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3,127</td>
<td>$225</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1911</td>
<td>$6.25</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3,205</td>
<td>$289</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1921</td>
<td>$14.50</td>
<td>$293,239</td>
<td>3,719</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1931</td>
<td>$17.50</td>
<td>$750,000</td>
<td>5,292</td>
<td>$637</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>2,061</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Census Division of the Texas Education Agency.

Besides the improved secondary schools of the state, there were many colleges where the young colored people could find good educational facilities. **Prairie View Normal and Industrial College, Prairie View, Texas,** was still growing and was classed as the largest Negro college in the state. Most of the Negro farm agents and the majority of Negro school teachers in Texas were graduates of this institution. The establishment of the **Prairie View Conference on Education** in 1931 was an important event in the history of the college. **Prairie View** was host to educators, ministers, doctors, business men and
women, housewives, social workers, and farmers during the meetings of these educational conferences. In the establishment of the Division of Graduate Study in 1937, Prairie View added another page to its expanding history. In 1936 the first buildings were erected to house the N. Y. A. resident center. This project was enlarged and made a training center for Negro men in critical occupations as welders, mechanics, pipe fitters, machine operators, and moulders in shipyards, foundries, and machine shops all over the nation.

The Negroes had been quick to take advantage of these opportunities, for educational improvement was revealed by the figures issued by the Census Bureau, which showed that Texas was well in the lead in the matter of Negro betterment. Texas was second among all the states in the number of Negro school teachers. In this state were 264 college presidents and professors, 2,308 clergymen (more than any other state), 100 dentists, 611 musicians and teachers of music, 207 physicians and surgeons, and 163 trained nurses.

It was evident that Negroes were steadily climbing upward and that some at least had attained a fair measure of prosperity. But this was only one side of the story; for, despite the affluence of some members of the race, the great body of the colored people, the rank and file, had to take such employment as they could get, with low wages and unhealthful housing. As soon as the children had a few years of
schooling they usually had to seek jobs to help out by thus supplementing the family income.

Just how much this low-grade existence was due to the Negro's lack of initiative and how much to lack of opportunity was hard to say. But it is only fair to state that the lack of opportunity was not entirely his fault. There were still, after so long a time, a few people in the South who apparently wanted to keep the Negro in a state as nearly akin to slavery as possible and who voiced a lively fear that, given an opportunity, the colored people "will run the country." This sentiment was not by any means a general one. All things considered, the Negroes in the state were doing remarkably well. 5

The health welfare of the Negro race was provided in a large measure by the professional members of the colored race. Yet, the preparation of these professional people and the health services they might render were limited by the insufficient number of physicians, dentists, and nurses, medical-society workers, and laboratory technicians. There was also a lack of Negro medical schools and a lack of opportunity in the white medical schools and hospitals. Even with these disadvantages there was an improvement in the health of the colored race, as was revealed by the decrease in the percentage of deaths. There were 73 per cent as many deaths as births in the state in 1930, while in 1920 there had been a 94 per cent rate.

5The Texas Weekly, July 18, 1936, p. 10.
The professional people of the state were working against great hardships and had territories to cover that were far beyond their abilities, as is revealed by the following table:

**TABLE 11**

**AVERAGE NUMBER OF NEGROES TO EACH NEGRO ENGAGED IN THE PRINCIPAL PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Average Number of Negroes to Each Worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clergymen</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored college presidents and professors</td>
<td>3,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentists</td>
<td>8,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers and judges</td>
<td>40,713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musicians</td>
<td>1,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians and surgeons</td>
<td>4,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School teachers</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained nurses</td>
<td>5,245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*United States Bureau of the Census, N-36.

**Business Enterprises**

**Agriculture.** — The Census of 1930 stated that colored people operated farms in 189 of the 254 counties of the state. Of these farms,
23.9 per cent were operated by owners, 0.10 per cent by managers, and 76 per cent by tenant farmers. These figures show a decrease in the number of owners and tenant farmers since 1920. Table 12 gives the status of the colored farmers of the state from 1900 to 1930.

**TABLE 12**

**PER CENT OF TEXAS COLORED FARM OWNERS, MANAGERS, AND TENANT FARMERS FROM 1900 TO 1930**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Managers</th>
<th>Tenant Farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reveals a gradual decrease in farm ownership with a gradual increase in the number of tenant farmers of the state. The land and buildings of these farm owners were valued at $44,610,853; implements and machinery, at $2,583,444. This value of owned farm land and buildings of the Texas colored people in 1930 was greater than that reported for any other state; however, this value had decreased 33 per cent since 1920. It is interesting to note that in the entire United
States in 1930 there were thirty-nine counties wherein Negro farmers in each owned land and buildings valued at $1,000,000 or more. Harrison County, Texas, led all of these counties, and Smith County, Texas, occupied second place.

With 22,339 automobiles, 1,317 motor trucks, and 242 tractors; with electric motors and stationary gas engines for farm work and with other farm implements and machinery, having a total valuation of $7,731,019 in 1930, the Negro farmers of Texas constitute a valuable market for the merchants and business men of the State, a market that is constantly expanding in proportion to increased crop facilities, and other opportunities for economic improvement. 6

One of the most prosperous Negro communities of the state was nestled on the Navarro-Hill county line. This little community proved that the future was open to the colored race. The following clipping was taken from the Dallas Morning News and tells of a typical colored settlement of the state:

One of the most progressive Negro settlements in Texas is at Pelham, in the western part of Navarro and the eastern part of Hill county, where thousands of acres of the most fertile and highly developed agricultural lands in Texas are owned and cultivated by Negro farmers. Through more than fifty years of industry and intelligent application they have bought and paid for their homes.

The homes, owned exclusively by Negroes, range from 25 to 600 acres, on which have been built homes from the modest cottage to the brick veneer; from the one-room house to the ten-room two-story colonial home; reproduction of the old Southern home around which the older Negroes grew up before the Civil War. In or near the center of this community are modern churches, representing Protestant denominations. A modern public school building is used by the

6 Hall, op. cit.
hundreds of children in the community. Most of its graduates enter Negro colleges of the State and other Southern schools for Negroes. Many have filled high positions in Negro life.

The Pelham residents have their own stores, conducted by their own people, a community gin, sorghum mills and home canning plants. Their lawns are well kept; the large, well-built barns bulge with feed for the selected live stock, and automobiles and radios are enjoyed by the thirty Negroes whose accomplishments dispel the thought that the Negro is without opportunity in the South. They read the daily papers and have a well-selected community library.

Among the pioneers of the community were Squire and William Porter, brothers, who as young men bought a heavily timbered tract on Richland Creek, paying $5 an acre for it and built their home from logs hewed from virgin forest. They opened a small farm the first year and added to their land holdings until a few years ago when they divided their estate and provided for their children at that time. They owned 1,400 acres of the richest land in the two counties. The Porter brothers operated their own gin and grew hundreds of bales of cotton.

George and Will Carothers, with the Porter boys, located here and became owners of large tracts and reared their children to become leaders among the Negroes of the State. Jake Thomas was another who, at his death several years ago owned large tracts near Kerens and in Henderson County. His children are prosperous farmers and stock raisers. Tom Cook, son-in-law of Jake Thomas, owns 500 acres of fertile land and his residence is an ornament to his broad acres.

Another, Lige Orr, has three sons, each of whom is a leader among Southern Negroes. One is a physician at Nashville, Tenn., another a lawyer in Alabama, and the third is the head of a Negro institution of learning. The father of these Orr boys reared and educated them from the income of the 100-acre farm which he owns.

Dolph Martin, has long been connected with one of the leading live stock concerns at Dawson. Andy Bell owns a good farm and his daughters have attended Paul Quinn College at Waco.7

7"Prosperous Negro Community Nestled on Navarro-Hill Line Shows Future Open to Race," Dallas Morning News, October 1, 1925.
The Extension Service of the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College was helping Dallas County Negro farmers to realize a more scientific method of agriculture in recent years. The Negro women helped to improve the civic life through their federation of clubs, parent-teacher associations, church societies, and other agencies. The Community Chest maintained an infants' welfare station in the Negro community which commanded widespread support.

In 1936 a resettlement project was approved which provided farms for 120 colored families in Harrison County. Each farm consisted of eighty acres of land with a good house and livestock buildings. It was estimated that the balanced farm program that each family would be required to follow would yield a gross income of about $1,300 a year.

The project was located in a timbered and sandy-land region near the Panola-Harrison County line and on the Sabine River. About 20 per cent of the land was too rough or too wet to farm, but could be used for timber and pasture. Each of the 120 farms was to have three cows, one hog, and twenty-five chickens to start with. Each farm also had a barn, poultry house, hog house, pump house, and a pit toilet. The house was built of wood on a concrete foundation. There were thirty-five houses of three rooms, forty-seven with four rooms, and eighteen with five rooms. 8

This resettlement project was a typical improvement program among the colored people of the South.

Thirty per cent of the Negro homes in Texas in 1930 were owned homes as compared to 23.9 per cent in the United States as a whole. This represented a 1.3 per cent increase since 1920, which showed an extent of prosperity among the colored people, as there had been a decrease in the Negro population of the state. These homes ranged in price from the ones valued under $1,000 to ones valued over $20,000, the majority of which fell in the lower price range, but there were quite a number over the $10,000 valuation, with thirty-eight valued at $20,000 or more.

Banks and Negro insurance companies.---The high rate or frequency of failure of Negro banks was related to the character of Negro business enterprises. There were no important commercial and industrial enterprises in the Negro communities. Negro business was grouped into four classes: the recreational and amusement establishments; real estate; retail trade; and personal service, which was by far the largest class.

Even though the ventures of Negroes in the field of life insurance had been marked by many failures, it was in this field that they had achieved their most outstanding success in business. The roots of life

9 United States Bureau of the Census, N-7.
10 United States Bureau of the Census, N-10.
insurance among Negroes were to be found among numerous ventures
dating from the eighteenth century.

Negro business. — It had been pointed out that Negroes had
failed to develop business enterprises commensurate with their achieve-
ments in other phases of civilization. Both economic and social factors
played a part in this failure. Among the economic factors was the com-
petitive disadvantage due to the small size of the average Negro busi-
ess. The Negro businessman also experienced great difficulty in
securing credit; therefore, he had to depend upon an immediate turn-
over and could not extend credit to his Negro customers who needed
to make their purchases on credit. Good locations were another prob-
lem for the Negro businessman, as white real estate owners preferred
to rent or lease to white businessmen. One of the explanations in
terms of social factors included the failure of Negroes to be "loyal" to
the Negro business enterprises, as was revealed by a survey made
of colored businesses. Forty-six per cent of the Negro consumers
stated that operators of Negro businesses were slow; 44 per cent, that
they were careless; 29 per cent, that Negro business was inefficient;
and 23 per cent, that it was discourteous.

Except for a few relatively spectacular developments, Negro
business had consisted mainly of small retail stores. The largest
number of unincorporated retail establishments owned by Negroes, and
the largest number of employees of Negro-owned stores, were in Texas. While ranking fifth in Negro population in 1930, Texas was fourth in the number of retail stores operated by Negro proprietors, and in the value of merchandise stock on hand. It had the largest total amount of sales made during the year, but dropped to thirty-sixth place in the average sales made per store, and down to thirty-eighth place in rank of states in the sales per capita of Negro population. Texas reported 1,736 retail stores operated by Negro proprietors in 1930. The principal kinds of businesses were grocery stores, restaurants, cafeterias, lunchrooms, and drug stores, which accounted for 53.7 per cent of the total sales made by Negro proprietors of retail stores in the state. The number of employees in these Texas stores outnumbered those in any other state.

**Employment.** The effect of the depression years on Negro employment was very disturbing. The report on *The Negro in Industrial Depression*, prepared by the National Urban League, revealed that the proportion of Negro unemployed to the total figures of unemployment was greater than their proportion to population totals. It was found that the cause of this condition was the engaging of white labor during hard times in occupations normally absorbed by the colored man. This added materially to the unemployment problem of the Negro. The average

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Negro on odd-job work was at best a marginal case, as his earnings were not in proportion to his industry, and he was always on the danger line. It was hard enough for him to find subsistence through the winter, when odd jobs normally slackened. When his immediate means of livelihood was removed, either because economical householders did their own work or in current emergencies turned it over to white labor, he faced destitution.  

The insecurity of the Negro’s position in industry was revealed by the depression that began in 1929. The unemployment census of 1931 showed that unemployment among Negro workers in Texas cities was in some instances twice as high as among white workers. In Houston Texas, 35 per cent of the Negro workers as compared to 18 per cent of the white workers were unemployed, while in the South the rates for Negro and white male workers were 18 and 16 per cent, respectively. For colored and white women workers the rates of unemployment were 42.9 and 32.2, respectively, in the North and 26 and 26.2 per cent, respectively, in the South. The better showing of the Negro in the South was due to the fact that the majority of Negro workers were in agricultural occupations. As a result of the depression nearly half of the Negroes in skilled occupations were displaced.

In 1932 and 1933 when the program of government-financed construction became important, the Negro workers were handicapped,

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12 Dallas Morning News, December 5, 1931.
because they were trained for small-scale construction. Even when the vast program of public works was inaugurated under the Public Works Administration, discrimination against the Negro worker was continued. In 1932 the Secretary of the Treasury and in 1933 Secretary Ickes, the Administrator, issued an order to state engineers forbidding discrimination on account of color and religious affiliations. When both of these orders proved ineffective, it was provided that Negro workers should receive a minimum percentage of the skilled payroll. This system proved more effective but did not solve the problem of discrimination on the part of the unions. The New Deal's policy of protecting the worker's right to organize and the Negro's right to work was often in conflict. Therefore, the Public Works Administration set about securing the co-operation of the unions in issuing work permits to Negroes admitting them to the unions. But the Negro worker still faced the problem of securing training in the new techniques of the building trades.

However, the New Deal agencies had a profound effect upon the economic status of the Negro, despite these initial handicaps in the field of building construction. There were three counties in Texas where the proportion of Negro families on relief was less than the proportion for white families, while on the other extreme there were five counties in which four times as many Negro families as white families were receiving relief. However, even with the influence of local attitudes and
traditions, in Texas 15.1 per cent of the Negro families as compared
with 13.0 per cent of the white families were on relief. In Oklahoma
42.5 per cent of the Negro families as compared with 25.2 per cent of
the white families received relief. 13

In 1930 Principal W. R. Banks of Prairie View Normal and Indus-
trial College declared that the problem of employment was the biggest
one faced by his institution, the largest land-grant Negro school in the
United States and the biggest interracial project in the South. He said
that he experienced no uneasiness in securing funds from a white Legis-
lature, which readily gave it an appropriation without pressure from a
lobby or other agency. However, the unemployment situation was seri-
ous for Negro graduates who found no place to teach and no other work
to do. Over 40 per cent of the 1929 graduates found no work. He
pointed out that twice as many girls as boys attend Negro schools, a
proportion which started in the seventh grade. 14

There was still a shift from agriculture to trades and professional
services, and the table on the following page reveals that this shift
was taking place even during the depression years.

In 1930 Texas led all states in the number of Negro clergymen,
college presidents, and professors. Only one state, North Carolina,


14Dallas Morning News, November 10, 1930.
TABLE 13

PER CENT OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN MAJOR INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry or Field of Work</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing and manufacturing industries</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and communication</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public service</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional services</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and personal service</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical occupations</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Dallas Morning News, November 10, 1930.

had more Negro school teachers than Texas, but the Negro population of North Carolina was 63,683 greater than that of Texas.

Politics: Seemingly there was little ground for the belief that the Negro, in general, hungered for political power or social equality. A Negro might occasionally seek public office, but the race as a whole did not seem to be greatly interested. So long as the colored
man was given a fair measure of justice and economic opportunity, he voiced no desire for entry into the arena. However, in recent years legal battles had been waged over the constitutionality of the white primary. In 1927 the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a Texas statute limiting the Democratic primaries to whites. The Texas Legislature countered by delegating discriminatory power to the state Democratic party's executive committee, but these tactics were declared unconstitutional in 1932. Thereupon, a discriminatory clause was passed by resolution at the Texas State Convention of the Democratic party. In 1935 the State Supreme Court declared that the Texas Democratic Convention had not "become a mere instrumentality or agency for expressing the will of the State," and upheld the party's right to establish its rules governing membership and participation in its primaries.

This cloak of legality could be claimed only briefly by the Democratic party, as the courts declared that the exclusion of Negroes from the primaries was an unconstitutional exercise of power. This interference with the right to vote in the primary elections was an interference with the effective choice of the voters at the only stage of the election procedure when such interference could have any practical effect upon the ultimate result.\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\)Guzman, op. cit., p. 125.
Interracial problems. — Early studies of the South's race problem proved that racial antagonism was fostered and fed by the low economic level of both the whites and the Negroes. This strong antagonism was being increased by the competition for jobs. The program of the work of rehabilitation of the South insisted that every New Deal agency embody in its policies a racial non-discrimination clause. This was the first move. Next came the appointment of sympathetic white persons by the federal departments to the policy-making agencies in Washington. Later trained Negroes were placed in charge of Negro affairs or as advisers to those in charge. At this point the state interracial committee entered the picture as a strictly educational organization concerned in creating a public opinion to include Negroes in the benefits accruing to the community in the reduction of unemployment, in higher wages, better housing, extended health services, and increased educational opportunities. The state committee began to add to their programs of education the emergency needed to provide economic training for Negroes for national defense and to employ them as skilled workers in national defense industries.

Texas illustrated complete co-operation in this interracial program. This co-operation was illustrated by the story of the two $50,000 appropriations for graduate aid for Negro Texans. The Texas State Interracial Commission was credited with the major responsibility for securing this appropriation. Most of the large cities of the
state appointed interracial committees which did outstanding work. Increasing the salaries of Negro teachers was made the first of a six-point program adopted by the Austin committee. Work on this project began with an educational program which continued until after the successful bond-issue election, in which Negro teachers received a slight blanket increase in salary. Other projects included the improvement of hospital facilities for Negroes; the enlargement and remodeling of two Negro elementary schools; playgrounds for Negro children; and an N. Y. A. Negro Youth Center. Mistreatment of young Negroes riding on South Austin bus lines was also investigated.

The Dallas Interracial Committee requested a well-planned program featuring the cultural and artistic contributions of Negroes to Southern life as a part of its program. During Race Relations Week in 1939, "books by and about Negroes" were featured with an evening given to their discussion by the wife of the president of Prairie View College.

The movement for the Interracial Committee of Houston grew out of the riots precipitated by Negro soldiers stationed there during the war. To call Negroes and whites together in a meeting was a bold stroke on the part of the local citizens, for fear and prejudice among both races were rife throughout the city. It was quickly realized that the emergency conditions resulted out of deep-seated causes which would take long and patient work to eradicate. The committee has
dealt with such problems as brutality of the police, intimidation of Negroes by petty bill collectors, unsanitary living conditions, inadequate educational facilities, and poor provisions for the care of sick colored people.  

The *Dallas Morning News* took occasion to make some observations about the Negro's status in the South, and among other things the paper stated:

In the end the Southern white man will come to see that the only fair and sensible thing to do is to give the Negro equality before the law. It is true that he hasn't it now in all things. But, considering that he is four or five generations removed from savagery, and but two removed from slavery, his progress is really astonishing. The Negro is here, though he never asked to be here. Surely it is folly forever to go about our affairs as if he were in the wrong for being here.

All this was true, but it seemed that of more importance to the Negro than equality before the law was a greater measure of economic equality. Whatever the economic status of the Negro, the economic status of the people as a whole was affected.

**Economic progress.** ---The Negro community of Dallas, numbering some 40,000 men, women, and children, occupied a basic position in the life of Dallas. An outstanding feature of the local situation was the increasing good will and co-operative understanding between the

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17 *The Texas Weekly*, August 8, 1931, pp. 4-5.
white and the colored races. Although fiction writers, local-color enthusiasts, and many tourists had long been attracted by the picturesque aspects of Negro life in Dallas, finding humor and rich human nature on "Deep Ellum," Central Avenue, and other well-known haunts of the Negro, there had been a deepening appreciation of the economic and social progress of a race which had such an important part in Southern life.

The Negro in Dallas had a record of progress to be proud of—one that included advancement in general economic status, in education, religion, business, and in the whole art of living. As this had been accomplished with the co-operation of the more powerful economic group, rather than in the face of opposition, credit was due both races. Taking advantage of the educational and other opportunities offered by the dominant white race, as well as by his own efforts, the Negro had materially bettered his status, so that he could point with pride to marked civic advancement, with his own doctors, nurses, lawyers, ministers, teachers, businessmen, civic leaders, and correspondingly important institutions.

The larger part of the Negro population, however, was still engaged in domestic service in homes, hotels, and clubs of the city. This close and integral work-a-day relation between Negroes and whites brought leaders in the dominant race to insist more and more that housing conditions among Negroes be improved. However, the survey
continued to reveal that much more should be done by tax-supported authorities to safeguard the health and social security of the whole community. Dallas was a typical example of the conditions in all the large cities of the state. 18

CHAPTER VI

RAPID PROGRESS, 1940-1950

Professional Enterprises

Population. — The colored population of Texas had increased from 854,964 in 1930 to 924,391 in 1940. This was 10.8 per cent over the 1930 figures, yet it was a 0.2 per cent decrease in the total population. Table 14 on the following page indicates the Negro population of the state from 1900 to 1940.

The steady decline in the percentage of Negro population came from the fact that the Negro race was increasing almost solely from the excess of births over deaths and was somewhat decreased by domestic emigration to Northern and Pacific States; whereas the white population was increasing from both natural cause and a heavy influx of domestic and foreign population. However, there had been a large intrastate movement from rural to urban environments. In this movement the Negro had been both attracted and propelled. The big construction and industrial development program in the cities had increased employment opportunities. The Negro urban population had increased 21.8 per cent

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION OF TEXAS FROM 1900 TO 1940 AND THE INCREASE IN NEGRO POPULATION DURING THOSE YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Cent of Negroes in Total Population</th>
<th>Per Cent of Increase in Negro Population for Ten-year Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in the last ten years, while the rural population had increased only 2.0 per cent. Even during the depression years there was a greater increase in the urban population than in the rural. At this time the Negro population was largely in the eastern third of the state. In this area most counties had from 25 to 50 per cent Negro population.

There were three counties (Harrison, Marion, and San Jacinto) which had more Negro than white population in 1940.

Education. —Even though the colored people had made much progress in education since 1900, there was still much to be done, as

was revealed by the rejection of so many selective service registrants during World War II due to educational deficiencies. There were 8.6 per cent of the Negro registrants rejected for this reason from May through December of 1942.

Illiteracy among the Texas Negroes was almost completely eliminated by 1940. This had been accomplished by the improved educational opportunities and by the great increase in school attendance of the colored children. Table 15 presents the percentage of school attendance of the colored children of the state between the ages of five and twenty years.

As shown by the table on the following page, the percentage of attendance among the children of this age range had increased from 35 per cent in 1900 to 67.4 per cent in 1940. The greatest increase was in the earlier years of 1900 to 1910, with the least increase being evident during the depression years of 1920 to 1930. The attendance increased again from 1930 to 1940.

The financial status of the colored schools of the state had definitely been raised during this growth of progress. There were thirteen fewer Negro high schools in the state in 1940 than there were in 1930, which fact indicates a step of progress among these people. This decrease in number was probably the result of school consolidations.

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TABLE 15

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE TEXAS NEGRO CHILDREN BETWEEN THE AGES OF FIVE AND TWENTY YEARS WITH THE INCREASE OF ATTENDANCE FROM 1900 TO 1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Per Cent of Negro Scholastics in Actual Attendance</th>
<th>Increase in Attendance of Negro Children for Ten-year Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

which brought about improved standards among these schools. There were 1,300 more colored teachers in the state in 1940 than there were in 1930. The yearly salary increase of these teachers had been an average of $90 per teacher. The number of graduates from high school had more than doubled during the last ten years. The per capita apportionment for these schools had increased $5 since 1930 and the equalization aid had increased more than $200,000. This financial growth is indicated in Table 16 on the following page.
### TABLE 16

**NEGRO EDUCATIONAL GROWTH IN TEXAS SINCE 1900***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases of Growth</th>
<th>School Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900-1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita apportionment</td>
<td>$4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equalization aid</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro classroom teachers</td>
<td>3,127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average salary of teachers</td>
<td>$225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Negro high schools</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of graduates from Negro high schools</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Information from Census Division, Texas Education Agency.

Beginning in the 1940-1950 period, colored children were transported to and from school at public expense. The average number of pupils transported yearly was 30,343. By 1942 the Southern Association

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4Ibid., pp. 76-79.
of Colleges and Secondary Schools had approved twelve colored high schools in the larger cities of the state.

Much of this progress among the secondary schools of the state had been accomplished by the help of better qualified teachers. The educational progress of these teachers was revealed by their college training. In 1940 there were 253 Negro principals in the state who were college graduates and twenty-six who had some college training. There were 4,080 classroom teachers with college degrees and 2,171 who had some college training. Of these classroom teachers, 54.3 per cent had four or more years of college training.

Not all of the progress in education was among the secondary schools of the state, however, as much improvement was being made in the institutions of higher learning. Enrollment in colleges was greater and the physical plants were being improved with many new additions. In 1943 a training unit of the Army Specialized Training Program was established at Prairie View College, with a maximum strength of two hundred trainees enrolled in the BE-1 Curriculum. When the Forty-eighth Legislature met in January of the same year, it appropriated $160,000 for the erection of a library building. This amount was supplemented by $20,000 for equipment and books. The Forty-ninth Legislature (1947) passed the bill making Prairie View

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a university to offer, as the need arises, all courses offered at the University of Texas. E. B. Evans became the eighth principal of Prairie View on September 1, 1947. The name of the school was changed from Prairie View University to Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas by the Fiftieth Legislature of the state. The college was to offer courses in agriculture, mechanical arts, engineering, and the natural sciences connected therewith, together with any other courses authorized at Prairie View at the time of the passage of the act. These courses were to be equivalent to those offered at the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

An emergency appropriation of $300,000 was made by the Fiftieth Legislature to erect the present Administration Building to replace the old Academic Building which was completely destroyed by fire in 1947. In 1950 the divisions of Agriculture, Arts and Sciences, Home Economics, and Mechanic Arts were changed, respectively, to the School of Agriculture, the School of Arts and Sciences, the School of Home Economics, and the School of Engineering. The directors of the respective schools were named deans to become effective at the same time. The title of Dean of the College was changed to that of President on September 3, 1948. 6

6 Bulletin of Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, 1940-1950, p. 16.
The total income of Bishop College, Marshall, Texas, for the school year of 1946-1947 was $64,619 and the total expenditures were $54,796. In 1942 this college conducted a debt clearance campaign for $12,000. Twenty thousand dollars was raised and the college closed the fiscal year with a surplus in the treasury. In 1944 the Board of Trustees adopted a "New Development Program" for the college, involving the reorganization of its curriculum, and the development of a Department of Public Relations with emphasis on scientifically conducted publicity, student recruitment, and fund-raising for building improvements, current operations, and endowment. The first phase of this new development program was completed in 1947 at a total cost of approximately $350,000. This included the conversion of Woverton Hall into the college library, the historic C. H. Maxson Hall into the administration building, the erection of a temporary classroom-office building, and the improvement of the college campus. Bishop College was awarded unconditional "A Rating" by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States in 1948. A Graduate Division of Education and Religion leading to the professional degree of Master of Education was organized in 1948. In 1950 the college established a record in the liquidation of a deficit of $90,000 which had accumulated during the illness of the president.  

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7 Bishop College Catalog, 1950-1951, p. 25.
Tillotson College, Austin, Texas, had a total income of $89,407 for the school year of 1946-1947 and a total expenditure of $85,113.\textsuperscript{8} A cottage to be used as the residence of the superintendent of buildings and grounds was erected in 1940. The college was given an "A Rating" in 1943 by the \textit{Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools}, and it was granted a charter by Alpha Kappa Mu \textit{National Scholastic Honor Society} in 1945. The College Canteen was erected in 1946 and the \textit{Agard Social Science Hall} in 1948.\textsuperscript{9}

A conviction had grown among the colored people that a segregated system of education meant an inferior type of education for the Negroes, so the principle of segregation itself was attacked. This change in attitude toward segregated institutions of higher education was indicated in a number of legal cases. Some of these cases occurred in other states; however, they had their effect upon the situation in Texas. The first case of importance was that of Ada Sipuel Fisher, who had applied for admission to the \textit{Law School} of the \textit{University of Oklahoma}. The \textit{Supreme Court of Oklahoma} handed down a decision that this colored women should not be admitted, because it was a crime in Oklahoma for a Negro to attend a white school. When this case was carried to the \textit{Supreme Court of the United States}, it was ruled that Negroes were entitled to receive in state institutions equal education of any type that


\textsuperscript{9}Tillotson College \textit{Annual Bulletin of Announcements for 1950-51}, p. 10.
white persons could obtain in such schools. On the basis of this decision District Judge Hinshaw decided that Ada Sipuel Fisher must either be admitted to the Law School at the University of Oklahoma, until a separate law school for Negroes should be established, or the university would have to close its law school to new students. Instead of admitting the colored girl, the university set up a law school for Negroes in the committee rooms of the State Senate Building, gave them access to the State Law Library, and employed three faculty members including the dean of the Negro Law School.  

In their 1947 convention the governors of the Southern States formulated a plan of "Regional Universities" to be set up in certain sections of the South. They declared that such schools were needed because the separate states could not afford to set up adequate institutions of higher education for the training of Southern students in all courses. This plan was thought to be an effort to get around the Supreme Court decision in the Ada Sipuel Fisher suit, even though the proposed schools were to be for both races. The opponents of the plan believed that the objective of such a plan was to perpetuate the pattern of segregation. The Negroes of the North opposed the idea of regional universities; however, some Negro educators in the South were reported to favor the plan as the most practical way for achieving adequate educational

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opportunities for Negroes. Texas was one of the nine Southern States favoring such a university plan. In 1948 the governors of these states decided to ask the United States Congress to approve the setting up of such schools. The House adopted a resolution giving its approval, but Senator Morse succeeded in having the matter tabled in the Senate. 11

On May 16, 1946, Herman Marison Sweatt, a Negro citizen of Houston, Texas, filed an application for a writ of mandamus in the 126th District Court of Travis County, Texas, against the University of Texas. The cause of this action was the refusal of the university to admit the plaintiff to the law school of the university, solely because of his race or color and in the violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States and of the State of Texas. Sweatt was a graduate of Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, and a graduate student at the University of Michigan prior to becoming a postal employee. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sought a writ of mandamus compelling the board to admit Sweatt to its law school, the only one maintained by the state. When Sweatt’s application was denied, T. S. Painter, President of the University of Texas, sought a ruling from Attorney-General Grover Sellers in the matter. The Attorney-General based his opinion on the acceptance of the "wise and long-continued policy of segregation of races in the educational institutions of the

State." He referred to the Constitution of Texas as being the legal basis for segregation in the schools.

The legal principle upon which the Sweatt case was brought to court was the fact that the state should provide equal educational opportunity for all of its citizens as the passages of the Constitution which provide for separate facilities also specify that such facilities shall be equal. If the state elected to require the separation of the races for educational purposes, as in Texas, then it must furnish "separate but equal" opportunity for Negroes and whites. The law school for white students had been provided by the state, but it did not make similar provisions for Negroes.

In May, 1946, Sweatt took his case to the Federal District Court at Austin. The Attorney-General argued that Sweatt should have made his application to the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, which would have provided for his legal education at Prairie View. However, the court ruled on June 26, 1946, that the action of the university in denying admission to Sweatt was a denial of his constitutional right. Federal Judge Roy C. Archer granted Sweatt an interlocutory writ for admission to the University of Texas, but suspended it for six months to give the state an opportunity to establish a law school for Negroes. The state immediately set up a makeshift law school for Negroes in Houston, and employed two Negro lawyers as a faculty.

On December 17, 1946, Thurgood Marshall of Washington, counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, argued that the issue was whether the state had complied with the court's order. It was decided that the Agricultural and Mechanical College would be given until February 1, 1947, to establish the Law School at Prairie View; otherwise, Sweatt would be admitted to the University of Texas. Marshall said the state could not comply by the date set, as the school would have to have 65,000 law books and ten full professors and four associate professors to have a school equivalent to the University of Texas Law School. 13

Sweatt appealed to the Court of Civil Appeals, which, on March 26, 1947, set aside the lower court's judgment in denying the writ and sent the case back to the lower court for retrial. By the time the second trial began, the state had abandoned the Houston law-school project and had set up, in the basement of a building adjacent to the State Capitol grounds in Austin, a law school for Negroes which was alleged to be equal to the law school of the University of Texas and which was to be a practical part of the newly organized Texas State University for Negroes, located in Houston. The issue came to involve the validity of the "separate but equal" principle per se; hence, the unusual significance of this case. 14

The Appellate Court upheld the ruling of the District

13 Guzman, op. cit., p. 98. 14 Thompson, op. cit., p. 113.
Court, and later the Texas Supreme Court refused to review the decision. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People then appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

In the meantime the Fiftieth Legislature had passed an act establishing the Texas State University for Negroes to be located at Houston. This university was to include a law course for Negroes. The Legislature also provided for a board of regents for the school, and appropriated $2,000,000 to be expended in acquisition of land and other property as the site for the establishment of the university and $1,000,000 for maintenance of the school during the fiscal biennium ending August 31, 1949.15

The significance of the Sweatt case to Texas and to the nation was the fact that this was the first time that the validity of the "separate but equal" dictum, upon which the legality of separate schools had been based, had been directly challenged in the courts. All the legality of the phrase "separate but equal" hinged on the question of mere compliance with the principle. Up until this time the United States Supreme Court had never passed directly upon the question of the validity of state statutes requiring the segregation of the races in public schools.

Courts of different states began to rule that Negro teachers were entitled to the same salaries received by white teachers, when they had

similar qualifications and were performing similar duties. In Arkansas, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Negro teachers could not be discriminated against in salaries paid by public school boards. Similar decisions were made in Florida and in South Carolina. The Fifty-first Legislature of Texas passed the Gilmer-Akin Bill in 1949. This bill required a minimum of $2,400 in salary per year for teachers holding bachelor's degrees with additional pay for length of service and for holding higher degrees. This law applied to both the colored and white schools alike, yet there were a score of school districts in the state which did not adopt salary schedules calling for equal pay. Therefore, Price Daniel, the Attorney-General of Texas, declared that unless accredited public schools pay white and colored teachers on an equal basis, the Texas system of segregation would break down. Daniel termed a minimum salary act passed by the Legislature constitutional, and that the Legislature had the power to impose the penalty for non-compliance, which is non-accreditation. He also pointed out that an impartial provision for white and Negro teachers is the only legal means of maintaining separate schools for Negro and white children. The Gilmer-Akin Bill provided, for the first time in the history of the state, equal salaries for the colored and the white teachers of the state.  

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17 Dallas Morning News, September 27, 1949.
Health. — Housing and the lower educational status of the Negro were social and economic factors affecting the health of the Negroes of the state. There were 10,034 Negro deaths during the year of 1945. The mortality rate of children under one year of age was high. Many times, due to lack of proper educational opportunity, the Negro did not have access to scientific knowledge concerning health and disease. The great mass of illiterate and semi-literate Negroes acquired their knowledge about diseases from folk beliefs and superstitions. A problem of the South was the bad medical care and the quaint and shocking methods of ignorant "grannies" who served as midwives. There was a great number of deaths of both mother and child at the time of childbirth due to such unscientific practices.

Venereal diseases were known to be rampant among Negroes, as among all groups who are low in the economic and social scale. Syphilis rates among Negroes were estimated to be almost 40 per cent in a poverty-stricken county in the South; in another, where there were higher incomes and good health and educational facilities, less than 9 per cent were infected—a figure that compared favorably with the average of many white groups. The treatment for syphilis was slow and tedious, but even ignorant rural Negroes had been faithful in taking it wherever it had been offered. An intensive campaign had succeeded in reducing the syphilis rate in one county from 40 per cent to about 10 per cent. 18

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The colored hospitals in the state were increasing in number. By 1948 there were nine hospitals for Negroes registered by the American Medical Association and the American College of Surgeons. These hospitals had a total of 382 beds with forty-six nurses employed by various agencies for public health work. There were four tuberculosis institutions that admitted colored people with a total of 277 beds. Two of these hospitals, containing 213 beds, were exclusively for Negroes. 19

Business Enterprises

Agriculture. — By 1940 the Negroes of Texas realized that hand labor could not compete with machines. They knew that cotton and tobacco, the farmer's main source of cash in the South, were two of the least mechanized crops in the nation. The use of hand labor in the South could not prosper in an age of mechanized production. The man with a hoe and a one-mule plow could not maintain respectable standards of living in a country where other men use labor-saving machines. Likewise, a region characterized by primitive methods of production must remain economically backward. As long as most of everything bought by the Southern farmer was machine-made, while everything that he sold was hand-made, the differentials in living standards would be to his disadvantage. Therefore, the Texas Negro had turned from the one-mule-plow days to the modern machine method of farming.

19 Murray, op. cit., p. 28.
In 1945, 20.1 per cent of the farm operators were using tractors on their farms. This percentage had increased from 6.4 per cent in 1930. The entrance of the colored people into other professions, the improved methods of farming, and the dwindling of the cotton acreage had almost eliminated sharecropper tenancy in which the Negro was dominant. The farm extension agents of the state had helped to reduce the number of tenant farmers by their improved methods of farming and improved farm machinery. There were eighty-five farm and home agents in the state in 1941, and this number had increased to 106 by 1947. The funds for extension work among Negro farmers amounted to $171,726.59 in the year of 1942.

Banks and insurance companies.—The Negro banking system had probably not grown as rapidly as other business fields of the colored people. However, significant developments were reflected in their financial activities, particularly during the war years. The Fraternal Bank and Trust Company of Fort Worth, Texas, was organized in 1944. By 1949 the total loans and discounts of this bank amounted to $485,117, and the total assets were $1,068,277. The total deposits for the year were $1,024,041. This progress was typical of other Negro banks of the state.

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20 Guzman, op. cit., pp. 175-181.

21 United States Department of Commerce, Sixth Annual Report of Banking Institutions Owned and Operated by Negroes, October 4, 1948, pp. 3-5.
The Negro people of the United States owned more than five million insurance policies issued by Negro companies, totalling, at the close of 1947, $1,035,136,094. This volume of business, which was the greatest in history, was largely attributed to the steady and gradual increase of business rather than to fluctuating declines and ascents. Burial insurance companies constituted, in numbers, the largest single group of associations engaged in the insurance business. More than one hundred burial companies were concentrated in Alabama, Illinois, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, and Texas. Fraternal benefit societies were among the earliest insurance groups prevalent among Negroes.

In 1947 there were 24,493 legal reserve life insurance companies in the state with a total of $3,676,071 worth of policies. There were 20,467 policies held with the assessment health and accident companies, with $35,869 in assets. The Mutual Aid Company, which was by far the largest, had a total of $68,061 in assets with 13,261 policies in force. 22

Employment. — Evidence of the influence of war on the traditional occupational pattern of Texas Negro families was reflected in the difference in the type of occupations followed before 1941 and since that year. The occupational pattern of these families before 1941 was mainly one of agriculture and domestic service. These two occupational

divisions included approximately 66.9 per cent of all family workers. However, after 1941 the picture changed considerably. On leaving the farm, these workers were moving into a new type of work pattern. They were shifting into the occupational fields of manufacturing and transportation. Before 1941 these two divisions of work included only 14.5 per cent of the family workers, but after 1941 they included 77 per cent.

This shift in the general occupational pattern of these families meant a change from domestic and personal services to the more competitive pattern of the modern factory and transportation economy. The colored people experienced a change of residence and occupational interests. The traditional occupational pattern of the Southern Negro was completely shattered by the emergency of the war. Records show that 31 per cent more colored people were seeking gainful occupations.

The Negro was still a submerged element in the industrial life of the country when America began its defense program. His low economic position prior to World War II was indicated by the fact that 48.5 per cent of the Negroes with incomes from salaries and wages, as compared with 16.7 per cent of the whites having incomes from these sources, received less than $500 a year.

With the inauguration in 1940 of the defense program, various government agencies made pronouncements regarding discrimination against Negro workers. The United States Office of Education said
there should be no discrimination in the expenditure of funds for vocational training. The Office of Production Management later asked contractors to "examine their employment and training policies" with reference to the utilization of Negro labor. These pronouncements were the result of the increasing pressure on the part of Negroes and white "liberals." President Roosevelt stated in a memorandum to the Office of Production Management that the government could not countenance discrimination against American citizens. However, these pronouncements did not bring about the employment of many colored people in defense industries. During 1940 and 1941 Negroes applying for jobs in the defense industries found themselves blocked at almost every turn. Building contractors engaged in the top-speed erection of factories, and other essential defense construction projects were clamoring for skilled labor; yet, at the same time, 75,000 Negro workers, experienced as carpenters, painters, plasterers, bricklayers, and electricians had difficulty in securing defense jobs. After defense production was well under way, Negro applicants were met with the same reception at industrial plants. A quarter million workers were needed immediately by the aircraft industry, yet Negro workers were unwelcome regardless of training. The president of North American Aviation, Inc., declared the policy of his industry in these words: "Regardless of their training as aircraft workers, we will not employ Negroes in the North American plant. It is against the company policy." This was a fairly
representative policy of hundreds of defense industries in many parts of the country. 23

Protests against this discrimination in war industries multiplied. The Federal Government was beginning to be influenced by the Negro press, by organizations representing Negro welfare, by mass meetings, by carefully conducted surveys revealing the nature and extent of racial discrimination, and even by pilgrimages to Washington.

The daily press presented strong editorials in behalf of the Negro. Governors and state legislatures considered bills for banning racial discrimination in defense employment. The pressure of public opinion was increasing almost everywhere. The tide of Negro resentment had risen so high that a March-on-Washington Committee was formed under A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Preparation was made for a march 100,000 strong to Washington. This the Administration did not wish to materialize. The President summoned Randolph and other members of his committee to Washington. The march was cancelled by the committee and Executive Order 8802 was issued on June 25, 1941, stating in part:

It is the duty of employers and labor organizations to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in the defense industries without discrimination. . . . All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without

23 Guzman, op. cit., pp. 249-250.
discrimination. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker.  

Even though the colored people comprised 14.3 per cent of the population of the state at that time, only 205 of them had been admitted to training courses out of 12,472 persons trained in defense production.

It was not until 1942 that the color bar against Negro workers began to "bend." A Federal Fair Employment Practice Committee was established in the Office of Production Management. This committee succeeded in removing the color bar against the upgrading and the introduction of Negro workers into many industries. Their employment began to increase in the construction of army cantonments as they had the required skill as carpenters. This was accomplished by the pressure of the Federal Government and through provision of training opportunities for Negro workers. These measures were limited in their effectiveness by local opposition to giving Negro workers equal status with white workers. One of the most important movements toward the industrial induction of Negro workers in the South had been the drive of the CIO labor union to maintain the principle of non-segregated local unions.

By 1942 the colored people of the South were losing ground steadily in many of their historic occupations. Many hotels were replacing

\[24\] Ibid.
them by Europeans as waiters, cooks, and bell-boys. They were also being shoved out of such work as barbers, and even in such menial and heavy tasks as street cleaning and road making. These Negroes had not carried over in large numbers from teaming, trucking, and horse-drawn vehicles into taxi driving, garage work, and other aspects of auto transportation. On the other hand, they were moving rapidly into the newer mechanical industries in many Southern cities.25

More than a million of the colored people had entered the war plants by the summer of 1943. The vast majority of them had entered war work during the latter half of 1942 or the first quarter of 1943. Most of them were still employed below their maximum or potential skills, and few of them were participating in in-plant training and upgrading programs.

As Negro employment expanded the Negro entered into new industries. He went into new and higher types of occupations. He was introduced as a semi-skilled and skilled production worker. This advancement had been brought about by an economic necessity and by the Negro himself constantly pressing for wider job opportunities.

Even though there had been opposition to the entrance of Negroes into federal employment, this had been accomplished with a minimum of friction or hostility on the part of white employees. The President's

25Embree, op. cit., p. 47.
Committee did not receive a single complaint that Negro workers as a group had proved unsatisfactory; nor was there any evidence that there was significant difference between white and colored workers in ability to perform a given job, when preparation and conditions were approximately the same. 

During the war years the colored people reached the stage of being employed in the war plants and participating in in-plant training and upgrading of the South without discrimination in any way. They also reached this status in the war service programs.

The trend of the war economy caused an increase in wages, both for those changing jobs and for those not changing. Table 17 on the following page indicates the percentage distribution of family workers according to wage, and compares the scale of those changing jobs after 1941 and those not changing jobs.

Even though the colored people averaged eight hours per day on their last jobs held before 1941 and on the ones after 1941, there was much more uniformity in the working hours on the jobs after 1941. Where 36.7 per cent of the workers worked over eight hours per day on their last jobs held before 1941, only 27.6 per cent of them worked over eight hours per day on their new jobs.

There had been a considerable occupational change in the distribution of employed Negro women of the state. Only 7 per cent of the

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27 Personal interview with B. J. Pyle, teacher in the colored schools of Kaufman, Texas.
TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS OF 1,000 TEXAS NEGRO FAMILIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED DAILY*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Hours Per Day</th>
<th>Last Job Before 1941</th>
<th>Present Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 and over</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Negro women were engaged in farm work in 1947 as compared with 21 per cent in 1940. Domestic service gave occupation to about 70 per cent of the Negro women not working on farms in 1940, but the
percentage had dropped to less than 50 per cent by 1947. The proportion of Negro women had more than tripled in clerical and sales occupations; more than doubled in operative occupations; and almost doubled in such service occupations as beauticians, waitresses, and cooks outside of private families.  

Table 18 indicates the percentage of employment of the colored people of the state in the different occupational groups in 1940 and in 1947.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1947</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and communication</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and finance</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and personal service</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural work</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-agricultural work</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>81.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This table reveals that colored people were entering more and more into such occupations as transportation, trade and finance, and manufacturing. They were leaving their traditional occupation of agriculture and entering the non-agricultural fields.

Negro market.—The Negro race had been ignored by businessmen as potential customers on the grounds that it lacked purchasing power and that, as a result, special appeals directed to them would not pay off. Both premises were wrong. Research has shown that Negroes as often as not "buy the best" or at least the expensive, even though it has long been assumed that they habitually buy the cheapest priced goods. Surveys revealed that the Negro shopper bought good quality furniture and automobiles, the better brands of coffee, meat, baking powder, and shortening. A high degree of brand-consciousness was a Negro buying characteristic. One survey showed that 40.3 per cent of the colored people used only one widely known tooth paste. Negro maids, waiters, janitors, and factory laborers paid the same for their best dresses and suits as did white mechanics, phone operators, and stenographers. 29

Business.—Both social and economic factors contributed to the failure of the Negro to develop businesses on a large scale. Desirable sites and the availability of ready capital were two economic

factors to be considered. The Negro of the South had not had experience in buying and selling, which fact lowered his business efficiency. The manpower shortage created by the war opened up employment for Negroes in white business establishments and provided the Negroes with this experience.

This experience improved the economic conditions of the colored people, as was reflected by the increase in the number of Negro operators of small business establishments. Houston, Texas, was one of the places included in a survey of businesses owned and operated by Negroes and was typical of Texas Negro business. Forty-eight per cent of all enterprises surveyed were found to be service establishments; 42.5 per cent, retail stores; and 9.5 per cent, miscellaneous businesses. The survey also showed the ten most frequent businesses to be the following:

- Restaurants 627
- Barber Shops 404
- Beauty Shops 600
- Grocery Stores 293
- Cleaning and Pressing 288
- Shoe Repair 130
- Undertakers 126
- Confectionaries 114
- Taverns 88
- Filling stations 75

It was also discovered by this survey that the 2,679 stores owned by Negroes in Texas between 1930 and 1940 represented 3.1 per cent

\[30\text{Guzman, op. cit.}\]
of the retail stores in the state. Of these stores, 2,075 were eating places, grocery stores, or other stores selling food stuffs.  

**Politics.**—Civil rights and suffrage were given the Negro by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. On May 26, 1941, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision which held that the Federal Government has the power to regulate primaries in states, if the selection of members of Congress is involved. This decision served as a stimulus to Negro citizens who had been clamoring for the opportunity to participate in the Democratic primary elections of the South. In 1944 the United States Supreme Court ruled that Negroes could not be legally barred from primary elections, when those elections were an integral part of the election procedure. Again in 1946 the Supreme Court upheld the right of Negroes to obtain the privilege of voting in the Democratic primaries. As this was the first time that the Negroes had participated in large numbers in primary elections in Texas, it stimulated a real political revival in the South.

The National Negro Youth Congress had been active in encouraging Negroes to qualify for voting and to cast ballots. It had been the custom to distribute jobs, protection, and public service in some relation to the voting strength of the group. Therefore, the unpaved streets in the Negro sections of Southern cities, the lack of facilities for

31 University of Texas News Service, special release to Texas daily newspapers, August 8, 1947.
sewage disposal, the dilapidated school houses, and discrimination in education, health, housing, and justice were due to the lack of the colored vote. The Negro fought for the ballot in order to improve these conditions. 32

The Supreme Court ruled in 1940 that racial discrimination is unconstitutional in service on grand juries. The opinion stated that exclusion of Negroes from the grand jury was discrimination and violated the Constitution of the United States. As a result of this decision, a Negro elementary school principal in Houston was appointed to a three-man commission to select members of the grand jury. In 1941 a Negro served on a grand jury in Dallas for the first time in the history of the country. 33

Since this Supreme Court ruling that exclusion of Negroes from jury service constitutes a violation of federal law, efforts have been made by court officials to permit increasing participation of Negro citizens as jurors. During the past six years Negro men and women have served on grand and petit juries in federal and state courts and on criminal and civil cases involving both white and non-white citizens. Court officials have stated that Negro jurors served as creditably as whites. 34

32 Guzman, op. cit., pp. 258, 298. 33 Ibid.

34 Recent Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs, prepared by Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., reprinted from The Southern Frontier, 1941.
Police. — It was becoming a trend to put more Negro men on the police forces in Texas. Houston had had Negro policemen since 1913, and their chief stated that he wanted more of them. Thompson and Stevenson, their only uniformed Negro men, had served on the Houston force for twenty years. Six nights a week they climbed into their squad car, equipped with two-way radio, at 8 p. m. and roamed their beat in the Negro section until 4 a. m. During their service in Houston, they had never arrested a white man or cautioned one about law violations. Neither had they ever been a disciplinary problem. 35

The Negro population of Dallas was about 15 per cent of the total population of the city; yet, about 19 per cent of the crimes of Dallas were committed against these Negroes, with a large proportion of them being committed by Negroes themselves. This situation fully justified a Negro police force to deal with the Negro crimes. 36 The city manager, V. R. Smitham, believed that Negro officers were able to get information from members of their own race which was withheld from white officials. Police departments of other cities had found that a Negro detail can handle a Negro section of town better than a white detail can. Anyone who knows life in the South can readily understand why this is true. "Stool pigeons" and "grapevine" contacts all count heavily in the success of any police force. Negro officers

35 Guzman, op. cit., p. 299.
36 Dallas Morning News, October 18, 1946.
have a distinct advantage over white officers by having a clearer insight into the home life and habits of their people. They have more normal access into Negro sections where white officers would be handicapped. Considering this, it made a lot of difference where a man on the police force was assigned, and whether he would logically fit into the area in which he was supposed to work. 37

In many places where Negro patrolmen had been employed, there had been a reduction in petty vice and crime that had been formerly shielded by the Negro community. One chief of police stated that crime in the district to which Negro patrolmen were assigned had dropped 25 per cent. San Antonio felt that its Negro police force did an invaluable service. Many cities which did not have Negro police stated that they were planning to employ them.

Influenced by these reports concerning Negro policemen of other cities, the city manager, V. R. Smitham, proposed that the city of Dallas employ fourteen Negro policemen to work in the Negro districts. The city approved the recommendation. These Negroes were to be selected under regular city civil service procedure and would receive the same six weeks of preliminary training given white officers. Two uniformed Negro officers were employed by the city. They were both college graduates and met the same requirements set up for white

37 Ibid., October 31, 1946.
officers. Since their appointment, crime had dropped 25 per cent in their districts.

In 1947 the following towns had uniformed Negro policemen: Austin, five; Beaumont, two; Dallas, two; Galveston, eleven; Houston, four; San Antonio, nine; and Port Arthur, six. 38

Interracial problems. — The colored people were gaining much recognition in regard to their means of travel. Perhaps the most famous court decision rendered concerning travel on public conveyances was the decision of the United States Supreme Court concerning the famous Arthur W. Mitchell case. This trial was brought about by a representative of the Pullman Company forcing a Negro passenger to leave the sleeping car and finish his trip in a "Jim-Crow" day coach. The court's decision was the Negroes who travel on public carriers must be furnished the same accommodations as anyone else. The court declared the regulations which affect "Jim-Crow" Negro motor bus passengers in interstate trips invalid. 39

After having been accused of discriminating against Negroes in selling berth space in Pullman cars, the Missouri-Pacific Railroad Lines advised that in the future, berth space would be reserved for Negroes without discrimination.


As the Negroes shifted from a group of agricultural and domestic service workers to factory laborers, a new pattern of life which they defined as better than the old was established for them. Therefore, it was interesting to observe the extent to which white citizens of three areas in which Negro families lived were willing to tolerate the maintenance of the newly gained position. Racial attitude questionnaires were given to 342 white college students and an equal number of Negro college students. Both groups were composed wholly of sons and daughters of citizens of Texas. These questionnaires revealed the information presented in Table 19.

**TABLE 19**

**ATTITUDES INDICATED IN RESPONSES OF WHITE AND NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD RACIAL SEGREGATION, SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF AFFIRMATIVE ANSWERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes should be prohibited from employment at places where they must work with whites</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes should be paid salaries equal to those of whites where qualifications and type of work are the same</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor unions of the South are justified in excluding Negro workers from membership</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 19—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Negro workers should be given recognition and just classification by labor unions</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites should expect Negroes to spend their money with them if these Negroes earn their money by working for them</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes should yield their seats to whites on public conveyances as long as there are whites standing and Negroes sitting</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites and Negroes should be segregated from each other in residential areas</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Negroes should be referred to by whites as &quot;Miss&quot; or &quot;Mr.&quot;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negroes have rights which whites are morally bound to respect</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This table reveals that both races believed that the Negro should be afforded better economic opportunity and advancement. The attitude of both races was quite different on the question of social segregation. Even though they both favored equal opportunities for each race, they both wanted segregation of the two races.  

40 Bullock, op. cit.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Population

The Negro was brought to America for labor on the farms and plantations and for personal service about the house. Some of the descendants of these Negroes drifted into Texas during the period of the Spanish conquistadores and padres. Many of them were brought here during the Anglo-American colonization period which started in 1821.

By 1900 there were 620,722 colored people in the state, which was 20.4 per cent of the total population of the state at that time. About 80 per cent of these people lived in the rural sections and were engaged almost entirely in agricultural pursuits. The Negro population had increased to 924,391 by 1940, yet there had been a gradual decrease in the percentage of Negroes comprising the total population of the state. This situation was caused by so little migration of the colored people from the states of the Old South into Texas and by the Negro migration into the North. It was also caused by the fact that the Negro race was increasing almost solely from excess of births over deaths, while the white population was increasing from both natural cause and from a heavy influx of domestic and foreign population.

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As early as 1910 the Negro urban population showed a greater increase than the rural population, and this intrastate movement from rural to urban environment continued through the years to 1950. Even through the depression years there was a greater increase in the urban population than in the rural. This was partly caused by the big construction and industrial developments and partly by the increased employment opportunities resulting from such programs.

Professional Enterprises

The mass of the colored people of the state in 1900 was still in a lamentable state of ignorance, which was the result of the system of bondage. About 38 per cent of the race was considered as illiterate at this time. These poor educational conditions were partly due to the attitude of the white people. They wanted the Negro to stay in this stage of ignorance as they feared that education might lead to discontentment and revolt. As the attitude of the white race changed toward the education of the Negro, the improvement of the Negro educational facilities began. By 1950 the illiteracy of the Texas Negro was practically stamped out.

The religious groups of both the North and the South did much in the early education of the colored race. Funds were set up by these organizations which helped tremendously in the construction and the maintenance of the early schools for the colored children.
The Negro was slow in introducing industrial work into the colored schools because of the fear that the whites were trying to hinder their intellectual and social progress and to keep them in a position of industrial peonage. There was a strong feeling among their race that they should have the same cultural training as the whites. This antagonism between industrial and classical education began to fade away by the 1910's. The Smith-Hughes law for the promotion of vocational training was passed in 1917 and was supplemented by the Smith-Lever law and the establishment of the Slater Fund. These funds were to promote industrial training among both the white and the black races. The white people had become more liberal-minded toward the education of the Negro race. They realized that the majority of every race needs to be trained for skillful handwork. They had decided that the illiterate Negro was a menace to his community, thus they became more concerned about the education of the Negro.

Even during the war years of 1917 and 1918, the Negroes continued to endeavor to improve their educational work and by this time they were contributing liberally to their own education. Several funds had been set up for their education. Among these funds were the Jeanes Fund, the Acroline Phelps Stokes Fund, and the Rosenwald Fund.

The Negroes were quick to take advantage of all opportunities offered them. They continued to push and work for better educational opportunities. Their colleges and secondary schools continued to grow.
Figures from the Census Bureau showed that Texas was well in the lead in the matter of Negro betterment by 1930. Texas was second among all the states in the number of Negro school teachers. Much of the improvement of the educational opportunities for the colored race was accomplished by the help of these better qualified teachers. Statistics show that the Texas school teachers continued to strive to improve their educational standards. As the level of education among the Negroes increased, such progress tended to produce an aggressive, impatient Negro who was not always understood by the white people. However, this education produced a type of intelligent, self-respecting, self-reliant Negro leader who could think intelligently and act with wisdom regarding his own situations. This intelligence and self-control of the trained Negro did much to open the doors of opportunity for his race, and helped to create a new South.

The Sweatt case in Texas did much to open the doors of higher education to the colored race. The catch phrase of "separate but equal" was eventually broken down by this case. Sweatt argued that separate facilities can never be equal, that lack of equality is implicit in their very separateness. White students of Texas themselves have expressed their disapproval of the continued exclusion of Negro students of the South from higher education.

This increase in educational opportunity has been accomplished both by the continual work of the Negro for better educational opportunities
and by the work of open-minded and liberal white people. The buildings and facilities for the Negro children grew in comparison with the other developments in the field of education. The passing of the Gilmer-Akin Bill in 1949 gave the Negro his first equality with white teachers in terms of salary schedules.

Business Enterprises

In the early history of the state practically all of the colored people were living on farms and making their living by tilling the soil. Even in the early days these people were buying their own homes. This was possible for them because land is usually cheap in a newly settled country. Farming in these early days was very crude as compared with modern methods in agriculture. Farm tools and implements were old-fashioned and simple. The indispensable implement was the hoe, supplemented by hand muscle. Besides these, the colored people had very little machinery. Reapers and mowers were seldom found.

By 1910 the number of acres cultivated by the colored people had greatly increased. The method of farming had progressed from the old-fashioned and simple implements of the hoe and hand muscle of 1900 days to the use of work animals.

A great change in the agricultural life of the people in Texas was taking place by 1920. Southern agriculture had been affected by the general low state of farming throughout the nation. The fertility of much
of the cotton-growing soil had been washed away. By this time the state realized that the system of tenant farming had received its death sentence. This affected the colored people profoundly. Empty cabins and uncultivated farms were common in many sections of the state. The Negroes were leaving the farms and going into the urban districts. At the same time diversified farming was finding a place in other sections of the state. It was in this stage of diversified farming that, for the first time in their lives, the Negroes had actual money. They had a chance to handle money and to know its value for the first time.

The Texas Negroes realized by 1940 that hand labor could not compete with machines. Twenty and one-tenth per cent of the farm operators were using tractors on their farms. Share-cropper tenancy among them had almost disappeared. This disappearance of tenant farmers had partly been brought about through the work of the extension agents of the state, who had helped to improve the methods of farming and to improve farm machinery.

The banking business among the Negroes grew out of the necessity to safeguard the unclaimed savings of the Negro soldiers and laborers. The interest in the Negro banks and insurance companies was running high in Texas in the second decade of the twentieth century. Four banks and two insurance companies were controlled by them. By 1940 the Negro banking system and insurance companies had made significant developments. The Fraternal Bank and Trust Company of Fort Worth,
Texas, was organized in 1944. By 1949 the total loans and discounts of this bank amounted to $485,117 and the total assets were $1,068,277. There were 24,493 legal reserve life insurance companies in the state with a total of $3,767,071 worth of policies. The Mutual Aid Company had a total of $68,011 in assets with 13,261 policies in force.

As early as 1910 a resolution was unanimously passed inviting the Negroes into the National Council of the American Federation of Labor. Even though this step had been taken, it was at a much later date that they were really unconditionally accepted into the labor unions.

The war days of 1917 and 1918 brought about a great change in the lives of the colored people. There arose a demand for Negro labor because of the shortage created by the war demands. For this reason the colored worker rose in the estimation of the white employers of the state. This demand for his labor increased the mobility of the Negro and brought about a migration which broke down much of the timidity of these people. It gave them the belief that they could move to another part of the country and succeed in gaining a foothold in its industrial life. They even received the impression that all kinds of work might at some time be open to them.

The effect of the depression years on Negro employment was great. White people were engaged in occupations normally absorbed by the colored man. It was during these years that the colored people almost faced destitution. In 1932 the Public Works Administration set about
to secure the co-operation of the unions in issuing work permits to Ne-
groes admitting them to the unions. This did much to improve the eco-
nomic position of the colored people, but the great change came during
the days of the Second World War. Their occupations before 1941
had been mainly those of agriculture and domestic service. After 1941
these workers were moving into a new type of work pattern. They were
shifting throughout the nation into the occupational fields of manufac-
turing and transportation. These two fields included 77 per cent of the
colored workers of the State of Texas during the early 1940’s. As these
people entered these new fields they found themselves discriminated
against. It was not until 1942 that the color bar against Negro workers
began to bend. This was accomplished by the efforts of a Federal Fair
Employment Practices Committee that was established in the Office of
Production Management. During the war years the Negro reached the
stage of being employed in the war plants and could participate in in-
plant training and upgrading without discrimination. The race also
reached this stage in the war service programs.

Both economic and social factors played a part in the failure of
business enterprises to develop to an extent commensurate with the
Negro’s achievements in other phases of civilization. The Negro busi-
nessman experienced great difficulty in securing credit for his business;
therefore, he had to depend upon a great turnover and could not extend
credit to his Negro customers. Good locations and business experience
were other problems for them. Most of the good business locations were offered to the white man. The man-power shortage of the war days opened up employment for Negroes in white establishments and provided them with business experience for which they had long felt a need. The results of this experience were reflected in the increase in the number of Negro operators of small business establishments. One of the social factors in the Negro business world was the failure of the Negroes themselves to be loyal to the Negro business enterprises.

The colored people had a hard, long struggle in gaining their way into the politics of the state. In 1917 the Texas Legislature granted suffrage to the women of the state and immediately the Negro women began preparing to take advantage of their enfranchisement. The Colored Welfare League and the Negro Women Voters' League of the state did much to help gain recognition for the colored women. As early as 1935 the courts declared the interference with the right to vote in the primary elections was an interference with the effective choice of voters. But it was not until 1946 that the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries of the South. This decision stimulated a real political revival in the South, as this was the first time that the Negroes had participated in large numbers in the primary elections of Texas.

San Antonio was one of the first cities to employ Negro police. These colored men gave such satisfaction in their work that it caused a
great influence on the employment of other colored men on police forces in many of the towns of Texas. After the employment of these men crime was reduced in almost every instance, especially among the Negro residents.

Along with the benefits of a high civilization the Negro has faced great handicaps. The first handicap encountered by the race, that of slavery, was followed by discrimination. Even though Negroes were forced to occupy only certain places in the building of Western industrialism, they have learned quickly many new and complex ways of life. With these advantages and handicaps a pilgrimage up the rough road of modern civilization, which took the European peoples thousands of years to accomplish, has been achieved by this new race in a single century. A steady progress toward a better racial understanding has been made through the years. The Negro fought for better economic opportunities, but as for social equality, Negro leaders have declared again and again that their people have no such aspirations. It is amazing that the American Negroes, despite the adverse conditions of discrimination, have made and continue to make significant advances in all fields of human endeavor. Never in the history of mankind have people starting from the degradation of slavery achieved so much with so little and in such a short time. They have come from almost complete ignorance to practically a state of equality with the white race in education. The Negro
people have earned this tribute and it bespeaks their resourcefulness, their ambition, their resiliency, their fortitude in surmounting difficulties and conditions that a few short years ago would have appeared insuperable. Their achievement in the sciences, professions, music and art, business, industry, labor, and education is phenomenal.

This great advancement of the colored people of the South has been made partly because of the help and encouragement of the Southern people of the white race. These people cut the pattern for the Southern Negro and gave him help and assistance in following this pattern. Considering the picture as a whole, the Negro of the South has made at least 90 per cent progress since 1900, with the greater part of this progress being made since 1940.
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