BLACK LUBBOCK: A HISTORY OF NEGROES IN LUBBOCK, TEXAS, TO 1940

by

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A THESIS

IN

HISTORY

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Texas Tech University in
Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Approved

Accepted

December, 1974

805
T3
1974
No. 86

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While there are many people that should be acknowledged in a work such as this, one man has been the mentor from its inception, Dr. James V. Reese. It was at his suggestion that research was begun in 1968. In spite of my embarking on a new career, moving three times, and generally procrastinating at every chance, Dr. Reese's patience and steady cajoling have been instrumental in my finding the time to bring this project to its conclusion. His insights have been invaluable in lending a general direction to an otherwise aimless effort, and I am extremely grateful for his many suggestions in the drafts of this manuscript. It is an understatement to suggest that his providing motivation enabled the fulfilling of this requirement. Dr. Alwyn Barr also made significant recommendations for which I am grateful. His perception and knowledge of black history have been beneficial.

I would like to acknowledge the sacrifices my wife made in providing the time and domestic atmosphere which allowed me the time to finish. Her understanding of the importance of this monograph to me was profound, and she alone knows by appreciation.

PREFACE

The task of any historian, on the surface, appears a simple one. Data must be gathered, analyzed, and presented in some logical form. This task has been accomplished countless times in the past and will be countless times in the future.

The step of gathering data is often easy, providing enough time is available, yet a dilemma appears: the historian must always question when the research is completed. He may also face the opposite dilemma when researching some topics, such as the history of the Negro. Here the historian is almost constantly confronted with the lack of sufficient information to justifiably reach satisfactory conclusions. This seems especially true when depending upon local records. Much of this data appears whimsically recorded rather than conscientiously kept. The question thus often becomes not how much is enough, but where to go to obtain almost any valid, impartial facts which make it possible to "tell it like it was."

Analysis and interpretation of research materials pose other problems. Normally, if analysis is done on a statistical basis, the results are accurate, provided the data is adequate. Yet, many areas do not lend themselves

to statistical interpretation and in others the historian must "suppose" the cause of some happening. Supposition and interpretation must necessarily be done through the veil of a writer's own background and prejudices. Whatever professions of impartiality and objectivity, black history written by a white is likely to be as open to question as naval history written by an army general. The history may be good, but the point of view of the author has shaped it in a special way which must be taken into account.

Writing history then is not an easy matter. When an author must set down his data and subsequent analysis, the words do not always come with ease. Questions arise that are left unanswered. One may begin to ask why this subject was chosen in the first place. When many topics with much greater available data exist, why choose to examine the history of the Negro in Lubbock, Texas, where the blacks have been a small minority group. The answer is the need to fill the gap created by the neglect of both whites and blacks in the writing of Negro history in the Southwest.

It is also rewarding to become involved in a relatively new area of study. There have been few grass root works concerning minority groups, especially the Negroes, in Texas. Since ethnic history must have its origins at the grass roots, enough of these local histories

can hopefully be pulled into a more generalized survey of a much larger scope.

On another scale, the citizens of Lubbock have many pioneers to which much traditionally has been attributed--Wheelock, Wolffarth, Rayner, Hutchinson, and Hunt are only a few of the prominent names mentioned in discussions of the early history of the city. But who on the South Plains has heard of the Quigleys, the Jamisons, the Johnsons? Much credit is due the early black settlers if for no other reason than for their tenacity in building a black community amidst that of the whites. Hopefully this work can assist in establishing some historical traditions for the Negroes in Lubbock, through the demonstration of their critical role in the building of the economy and society of the Hub of the Plains.

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CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS

Long before the first blacks were brought to the British Colonies along the eastern North American coast, black men trod the soil of present day Northwest Texas, perhaps even that of present day Lubbock.

Probably the first black to be in Texas was Estevancio de Dorantes, the slave of a Spanish master. In 1529, Panfilo de Nárvaez led an expedition into Florida where, after a great deal of trouble, the Spaniards were forced to flee the region. Most of the members of the expedition were lost at sea as they attempted to sail to Mexico in makeshift boats; but four members landed on the coast of Texas, probably at Galveston Island.[1]

The four, Cabeza de Vaca, Castilla Maldonado, Andes Dorantes and his black slave, Estevancio, later traveled from Glaveston Island toward Mexico--probably across the South Plains, then westward through New Mexico and Arizona. The natives met on this journey related legends about cities of great wealth, and even showed

[1] Paul Horgan, Conquistadors in North American History (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963), pp. 134-47.

Estevancio the trail leading to one of the cities.

Upon returning to Mexico, these tales were repeated and they rekindled previous rumors of "the cities of gold." On the strength of these new rumors, an expedition was hastily assembled to explore the north and gain more information. Estevancio was purchased from Dorantes to guide the expedition, headed by Friar Marcos de Niza, to Cibola, one of the "Seven Cities of Gold."

Once the expedition was well under way, Friar Marcos sent Estevancio ahead to locate the village. With his new found freedom, the black, seemingly suffering from delusions of granduer, began to make demands of the Indians along the way for women and special treatment. The Indians complied, with one fateful exception. The Zuni Indians of Arizona captured Estevancio and killed him. Marcos, viewing the Zuni village from a distance, discerned, mistakingly, that it was one of the cities they had sought. He made haste to return to Mexico to give his report. On the strength of his finds, the vast Coronado expedition was prepared.[2] It was composed partially of blacks.[3]

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[2]William J. Buchanan, "The Legend of the Black Conquistador," _The Black Military Experience in the American West_, edited by John M. Carroll (New York: Liveright, 1971), pp. 7-17.

[3]Alwyn Barr, _Black Texans: A History of Negroes in Texas, 1528-1971_ (Austin: The Pemberton Press, 1973), p. 3.

Yet, it was not the descendants of the blacks of Spanish America who came to the Lubbock area as the precursers of permanent settlement. These blacks came with the heritage of the United States--of slavery, emancipation, Reconstruction, and a shaky and special sort of freedom.

When the first black slaves were brought to the colony at Jamestown, Virginia, seeds were planted which later brought forth an "institution" that would have far-reaching effects. Enslavement of one man by another did not begin with the American colonies--that beginning goes back to the early days of known history--but the slavery which did exist in British North America was in some ways unique and molded the minds and lifestyles of the whites and blacks in peculiar ways.

While whites associated black skin with individuals inferior in most all respects, the black male was considered to be violent and sexually aggressive if not controlled. Whites feared that the almost legendary sexual powers of the black male were true and could possibly influence white females. More complexly, the fear of rape and revolt perhaps was stimulated by the interracial sexual interests of the white men in black women. Because of these deep and complex emotions, the whites forced the black to conform to the role of being humble, obedient, subservient, and

obsequious.[4] If Negroes did not conform, being a minority, they suffered the unpleasant consequences, often even physical punishment or death. Living in this condition of servitude for over two centuries, the lifestyle of the black had come to terms with such a "place" society. To perpetuate these conditions and views, prior to emancipation whites even legislated such a role for free blacks.

It should be noted that such generalizations were not without exceptions. Some blacks became successful in a white man's world before 1865. This group was very small in numbers, and succeeded in spite of the mores of the time. Yet, by and large, the majority of blacks survived by at least outwardly conforming to the rules established by the whites.

Even though slave owners were a small percentage of the white Southern population, their attitude dominated the region's social, political, and economic institutions. For the most part, the Negro was viewed as a source of cheap labor to harvest the crops. Few slave owners provided their charges anything other than the essentials for existence--food, shelter, clothing, and medical supplies. While amounts of each varied from owner to owner,

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[4] Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1968), pp. 136-163.

subsistence generally was meager. Why should the owner reduce his profit by spending more than absolutely necessary on a chattel?

Slavery in Texas had differed little from that of the rest of the South although it was not statewide simply because the entire state had not been settled prior to the Civil War. The slavery belt followed the valleys of the Sabine, Trinity, Brazos, and Colorado Rivers and there social customs and economic practices developed much as they did in the rest of the South.[5] The western portion of the state remained relatively unpopulated even to the early 1900's. The transition of what was for all practical purposes a frontier atmosphere to a more stabilized society was to play an important role in the history of the Negro in Lubbock.

During the period of slavery, the nature of that "peculiar institution" retarded the blacks in developing a unified and viable culture of their own. Interchange between groups of slaves was limited; most ate, slept, worked, and died within the confines of a relatively small world. The stimulus for intellectual growth was slight. Housing conditions were poor, medical care was scarce,

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[5] Lawrence D. Rice, The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), p. 4.

and life expectancy was short.[6]

The cause of the Civil War may or may not have been singular, but one of the end results was vitally important to blacks--emancipation. Hundreds of thousands of blacks suddenly were free, in the sense that they were no longer forced to conform to the white man's imposed "peculiar institution." Supposedly, blacks were free. But were they? They still had to live in a society where they were resented by almost all white segments of the populace. In essence, emancipation only legally freed the blacks--they still were enslaved by the customs fashioned from decades of subservience, hatred and prejudice.

Economically, the suffering of the blacks took on new forms after the Emancipation Proclamation. In the South, blacks had been primarily agricultural laborers

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[6]This view is a traditional view of slavery, espoused through the years primarily by whites. A more recent view of slavery, done primarily through the perception of the slave himself would offer contradictory evidence to the above paragraphs. The blacks in the Antebellum South did have a highly sophisticated religion, developed in and retained from Africa, and christianized in America; the black culture was dependent on a well developed family life; and they had some sense of community within their own plantation. Some even had a great deal of liberty in visiting other plantations. It was not uncommon for a slave to marry a slave from another plantation, but that presented problems as to the ownership of the offspring. While still very oppressive, this enlightened perception perhaps offers a more realistic image of slavery as it really existed. John Blassingame, _The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South_ (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

before manumission. Most remained with this occupation in one form or another, either as laborers, tenant farmers or sharecroppers. Very few were able to gain property ownership. During slavery, relatively few blacks were allowed to develop any skills which would enable them to compete in the skilled labor market for higher paying jobs and those who had such skills ran into prejudice when they sought to apply them. In some instances, blacks suffered more for physical subsistence after they were freed than before.

An adequate summary of the plight of the black after emancipation is given by Lawrence Rice, the leading student of black Texans after freedom:

> Rarely in the annals of man has the mantle of freedom fallen on so many, with such inadequate preparation or safeguards, as it did on Negro Americans. Their social environment was circumscribed by ideas, values, and beliefs concerning the place of the black man in a white-dominated society. Both groups became entangled in a mesh of emotional attitudes supported by pseudo-scientific knowledge and enforced by barriers of superstition, fear, and bigotry. . . . Slavery in no way prepared its members for the responsibilities of self-sufficiency and citizenship.[7]

By 1860, the black population of Texas had grown to 182,921,[8] including a free black population of 355. Thus, of every 500 Negroes, approximately one had attained

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[7]Rice, The Negro in Texas, p. 6.

[8]Ibid., p. 4.

the legal status of being free. Even to remain in the state during slavery, a free Negro had to have the consent of the state legislature.[9] No doubt, this contributed to the small number of free blacks before emancipation on June 19, 1865.

When the new state government took control of presidential Reconstruction after the war, one of the first actions was the enactment of "black codes." Negroes "possessed those rights not prohibited by the constitution, except intermarriage with whites, holding public office, suffrage, serving on juries, and testifying in cases where Negroes were not involved."[10] While the Texas codes perhaps were more lenient than those of some other states in the South, the Negro hardly had gained social equality. In general, the attitude of the white Texans toward the Negro was not one which would allow the black to grow out of the lifestyle which had been imposed on him.

The attitudes prevalent in the state were typified by the "Jaybird" incident in Fort Bend, County. During and after Reconstruction in Texas, the Negro gained some political influence in the state by affiliation with the Republican Party. The black majority in Fort Bend, County,

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[9] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, _Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population_, Part I, p. 400.

[10] Rice, _The Negro in Texas_, p. 5.

used the ballot with vigor and success. A few wealthy residents of the county were able to drive the Negroes out of local politics through an organized effort--resorting to violent, stronghanded tactics. The success of these tactics by the "Jaybirds" paralleled similar activities in other counties--Wharton, Brazoria, Matagorda, Colorado, Grimes, and Jackson--that had large Negro populations. With this type of opposition aided by legal authorities and the courts, the Negro faded from political potency by the latter part of the century.[11]

Emancipation took away the special sort of security the blacks had enjoyed. Instead of having someone provide their essentials, they had to be purchased or earned by the blacks themselves. To complicate the situation, the black also had to compete with the poor white for the meager low-paying jobs in a poor and war-torn economy. The hopelessness of those prospects must have been all but overwhelming. All considered, there should be little surprise that most Negroes wanted to get a new start somewhere removed from the scene of their bondage.

Thus, after freedom, blacks fled the plantations. While some chose to remain with their former master, a majority opted to search for relatives, to seek a new life in the city, or in some way find a new place to start again.

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 205-12.

During the decades following the war, a few of these former slaves looked toward the frontier as the region most likely to provide the opportunity where a new life could begin without the suppression that had been their experience.

One example of the exodus of slaves from the deep South was the mass migration to Kansas. Leaders in this movement were Henry Adams of Louisiana and "Pap" Singleton of Tennessee. Several thousand emancipated slaves were organized and moved through the efforts of these two. Kansas was appealing for two reasons; it was a frontier state and it had been free soil. It offered some chance, as did the other frontier areas, for the blacks to gain something like true freedom, away from prejudice and the suppression they still faced in the South.[12] Other blacks looked toward the western reaches of Texas, where settlement was just beginning to develop, as a possible refuge from white oppression.

It was over three hundred years after the Spanish Conquistadores traveled the plains, that the precursers of permanent settlement began to appear. In the 1870's buffalo hunters, military men, and ranch workers frequented the plains region in increasing numbers. As this frontier region was cleared of Indians and the railroad gradually

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[12] John Hope Franklin, _From Slavery to Freedom, A History of Negro Americans_ (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 399.

pushed its way westward, West Texas became more and more populated. From the very beginning, blacks were a part of this development--from laborer to soldier to cowboy.

By the 1870's the buffalo hunter had begun to come to the High Plains. In spite of the Medicine Lodge Treaty which provided the land between the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers for Indian hunting ground, the greed of the buffalo hunter brought them to the High Plains where their prey was abundant. A good chance exists that Negro laborers or cooks were employed by these early hunters. The skinning and processing of the buffalo hide was an arduous and unpleasant job, and often the carcus was decayed, which created quite a stench. This was the type of job typically held by blacks because of its unpleasant nature.[13]

The speed and efficiency of the buffalo hunters posed a threat to the Indian. The native inhabitants observed an element vital to their way of life quickly begin to fade from the frontier. Supposedly confined to reservations or, at least, regulated by various treaties, the Plains Indians began some retaliation against the hunters. Their retaliation included such raids as the

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[13]This is only speculation as considerable time has been spent researching the subject and the author can find no written evidence or specific information dealing with blacks associated with buffalo hunters. Contemporary written evidence on the buffalo hunters is slim, at best. The conclusion stems from the logic that Negroes traditionally were relegated to capacities that were unpleasant.

one on Adobe Walls, which demonstrated that among the Negroes on the High Plains during the buffalo hunts, not all of them were friendly to the hunters. There is mention of several Negro renegades, some part Indian, in the accounts of Indian battles in the Southwest. Apparently some blacks deserted from the Army and joined the nomadic Indian tribes. One such probable case was a bugler who, through the use of Army bugle calls, helped coordinate the Indian attack on Adobe Walls near present day Stinnett, Texas, in 1874. The man was darkskinned and some of the buffalo hunters at Adobe Walls speculated that he had deserted from the Tenth Cavalry at Fort Griffin. Others thought he was a half-blood Mexican. The man was eventually killed during the raid. Since the bugler did know the Army bugle calls recognized by the defendants of Adobe Walls, it would seem reasonable to assume he had been associated with the Army, although that was never confirmed.[14]

But if the incident at Adobe Walls is open to some question, the presence of blacks is clearly established by another aspect of early settlement in West Texas. The presence of Indians on the frontier necessitated troops being stationed at various forts in West Texas. Prominent

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[14]Phillip Durham and Everett L. Jones, _The Negro Cowboys_ (New York: Dow Mead & Co., 1965), p. 8; William H. Leckie, _The Buffalo Soldiers, A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West_ (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 101.

among these troops were the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry, all black troopers. The cavalry gained the nickname of "Buffalo Soldiers," a name given to them by the Indians. It was a phrase indicative of respect. During the 1870's, these troopers formed a portion of the fourteen hundred mile arc of protection from the Red River to the Rio Grande. The black soldiers traveled the Llano Estacado continuously.[15] An early, and well-known instance of blacks on the High Plains involved black troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel William R. Shafter. He was sent into the High Plains area of Texas to eliminate any remaining Indians who were using the area as a sanctuary. In addition, Shafter was ordered to explore the region, noting water and fuel resources, gather information about the flora and fauna, and have a cartographer map the area.

On July 14, 1874, Shafter with nine companies of Negro soldiers, Companies A, C, F, I, G, and L of the Tenth Calvary, Company A of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, and Companies D and F of the Twenty-fourth, and one company of Seminole-Negro scouts left Fort Concho with provisions for a four month scout. His general area of activity ranged from the Pecos River on the south Tule Creek on the north. During the scout, the men were often force marched for two

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[15]Leckie, _The Buffalo Soldiers_, p. 101.

to three days with little water, a scarce commodity on the plains in the summer. The troopers performed admirably. All of the assigned duties were carried out by Shafter and his men. The expedition also effectively dispelled the myth regarding the Great American Desert and hastened the settlement of the region.[16]

Another of the earlier recorded instances of Negroes on the Plains grew out of the presence of black troopers at Fort Griffin, Texas. In 1875, a Captain P. L. Lee (white, as were most officers) and several Negro troopers were sent to the Lubbock area to bring in a Comanche chief, Nigger Horse, and his band of followers.[17]

Nigger Horse (or Black Horse) led a group of warriors from their Wichita Mountain home to drive the buffalo hunters from the High Plains. After several raids on the scattered camps of the hunters, the Indians camped at Yellow House Canyon, just above present day Mackenzie Park in northeast Lubbock. There they were attacked by a smaller force of buffalo hunters attempting to avenge the earlier deaths of some of their fellows. After a standoff, the hunters returned toward Fort Griffin. The Army sent

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[16]Paul H. Carlson, "William R. Shafter: Military Commander in the American West," (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1973), *passim*.

[17]William C. Holden, "Indians, Spaniards and Anglos," in *A History of Lubbock*, edited by Lawrence L. Graves (Lubbock: West Texas Museum Association, 1962), p. 36.

Captain Lee with Company G of the Tenth Cavalry, Negro troopers, to suppress the Comanche uprising. They found the Indians in Cochran County where, after a brief battle, Nigger Horse and his squaw were killed and the remainder of the Indians were routed.[18]

Another and more famous incident involving the black troopers occurred in 1877. Captain Nicholas Nolan, Lieutenant Charles L. Cooper, and sixty men of Troop A, Tenth Cavalry, left Fort Concho at San Angelo on July 10 for a two month scout. After establishing a base camp on Bull Creek, Captain Nolan and forty men departed to scout an area roughly south of Lubbock between Brownfield and Tahoka. The group became lost and wandered for three days and four nights before locating water. Attempting to survive on the blood and urine of the horses, the desperate men finally found water, their bearings, and the base camp, but not before four men were lost.[19] Thus, through these and similar incidents, the black played an important role in removing Indians and paving the way for American settlement of the plains area.

With few exceptions, the Negro was not prominent

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[18]Carl Coke Rister, _Fort Griffin on the Texas Frontier_ (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 179-98.

[19]Col. M. L. Crimmins, "Captain Nolan's Lost Troop on the Staked Plains," _The Black Military Experience_, pp. 287-98; Leckie, _Buffalo Soldiers_, pp. 157-62.

in the actual settlement of the frontier regions of America, and the same was true in Texas. Yet, some did come. In partial contradiction to Frederick Jackson Turner's "safety-valve" theory, which allowed that economic and social pressures in a highly civilized society caused migration toward frontier regions, Negroes probably came to Texas for these and multitudes of other reasons. Southern states were enacting legislation which free blacks found oppressive and westward migration provided a possible escape. Others settled among the Indians for a life away from an organized white society. Still others came bringing agrarian skills which were suited for farming or ranching.[20] A peculiar code developed on the frontier which would allow a man some potential for integrity, notwithstanding the color of his skin. Just as black soldiers found a sort of equality and some sense of position on the frontier, other blacks found a place in another West Texas institution--the ranch.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the ranch became big business in the Panhandle region of Texas, and the raising of cattle was generally a very profitable operation. During this era, especially after

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[20] George R. Woolfolk, "Turner's Safety Valve and Free Negro Westward Migration," _Understanding Negro History_, ed. by Dwight W. Hoover (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), pp. 187-96.

the vast herds of buffalo had been decimated, large ranches were also common on the South Plains. Names of ranches such as the Spur, Spade, Matador, JA, XIT, Long-S, Yellow House Ranch, and the IOA along with those of men such as Isaac Elwood, Charles Goodnight, C. C. Slaughter, and George Littlefield all were identified with the ranching industry of northwest Texas.[21]

Closely associated with the historical notoriety attributed these great ranchers were names of black companions. Jim Perry was a cook for the XIT and was a skilled rider and roper.[22] John Battavia Hinnaut, a former slave, worked for John Slaughter and a very close friendship developed. Another black close to Slaughter was John Swain, a tracker with extraordinary talent.[23]

Perhaps the closest friendship between black and white cattlemen of this era developed between Charles Goodnight and his trusted worker and friend, Bose Ikard. As described by Goodnight, Ikard

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[21] George A. Wallis, Cattle Kings of the Staked Plains (Dallas: American Guild Press, 1957), *passim*.

[22] Kenneth W. Porter, "Negro Labor in the Western Cattle Industry, 1866-1900," The Negro on the American Frontier, ed. by Kenneth W. Porter (New York: The Arno Press and the New York Times, 1971), pp. 494-522.

[23] Allan A. Erwin, The Southwest of John H. Slaughter, 1841-1922 (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1965), pp. 148-50.

> surpassed any man I had in endurance and stamina. There was a dignity, a cleanliness, and a reliability about him that was wonderful. He paid no attention to women. His behavior was very good in a fight, and he was probably the most devoted man to me that I ever had. He was my detective, banker, and everything else in Colorado, New Mexico, and the other wild country I was in. The nearest bank was in Denver, and when we carried money, I gave it to Bose, for a thief would never think of robbing him--never think of looking in a negro's [sic] bed for money.[24]

This phenomenon was not limited to Northwest Texas by any means. Other blacks whose names were closely associated with white ranchers were Nigger Jim Kelly, employed by Print Olive; Nigger Frank with John Chisum of New Mexico; Frank with Ab Blocker; and Neptune Holmes with Shanghai Pierce.[25]

While the various entertainment mediums have portrayed the cowboys in the frontier as all white, there is substantial evidence that a large segment of working cowhands were black. It has been estimated that of the 35,000 drovers in Texas from 1866 to 1895, over 8,500 were black cowhands.[26] From the accounts given by Philip Durham and Everette Jones, it is evident that blacks earned the respect of their white counterparts by enduring and excelling in

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[24]J. Evetts Haley, Charles Goodnight, Cowman and Plainsman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 241.

[25]Wallis, Cattle Kings of the Staked Plains, passim.

[26]Porter, "Negro Labor in the Western Cattle Industry," p. 495.

the roughest of jobs, for in the frontier way of life, a man could earn respect of others by doing his job in a superior manner.[27] Regardless of the color of a man's skin, the harshness of the country and the difficulties encountered tended to transcend racial barriers. To the Negro the wide open West offered a chance to gain self-respect for if the black could learn a skill which would be needed and recognized by the white frontiersmen, he could gain some measure of respect in the structured society.

Discrimination was present on the frontier, however. Porter evaluated the relationships in this way:

> Negro cowhands . . . were not treated as "equals" except in the rude quasi-equality of the round-up, roping-pen, stampede, and river-crossing--where they were sometimes recognized even as superiors--but where else in post-Civil War America, at a time of the Negro's nadir did so many adult Negroes and whites attain even this degree of fraternity? The cow country . . . did demonstrate . . . white and black in significant numbers could live and work together on more nearly equal terms than had been possible in the United States for two hundred years or would be possible again for nearly another century.[28]

All of the blacks in the west were not cowpunchers. There were many who chose, or were somehow forced into,

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[27] Durham and Jones, The Negro Cowboys, p. 79.

[28] Porter, "Negro Labor in the Western Cattle Industry," p. 522.

another form of life. Whether it was a wagonmaster, cook, or barn sweeper, many blacks found themselves in the familiar role of doing those jobs nobody else wanted. There is little data available as to the size of this service group, but in all probability, it was equal in numbers to the Negro cowboy. However, since their role lacked the lustre of that of the cowboys, they virtually go unmentioned in the accounts of the old west.

One early mention of Negro cowboys in the Lubbock area was discovered through a diary found on the Double Mountain River, where a cowboy wrote that he and a "nigger pulled cows out of the bogs." It is unclear exactly when this occurred or where they were, but the account is indicative of Negro cowboys in the early days of settlement of northwest Texas.[29]

Lubbock County had its affair with the cattle industry and the large ranch. In 1884, a group of investors formed the Western Land and Life Stock Company in Davenport, Iowa. Desiring to reap large profits, the company hired David Boaz as general manager and he began to acquire land in the southern half of Lubbock County. Eventually, 245,280 acres, almost exactly the southern half of the county, was fenced and stocked with 20,000 head of stock

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[29]William C. Holden, Rollie Burns (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1932), p. 215.

cows. Unfortunately, the ranch operation was never financially successful. High purchase prices for cattle, poor weather conditions, rustling, and declining selling prices brought an unsuccessful end to the IOA ranch operations in Lubbock County in 1901.[30] However, the IOA undoubtably brought blacks to the Lubbock area. In 1932, the local newspaper published a letter from Max Coleman, a local old time lawyer and businessman, which indicated that the ranch had a black wagon man during the 1880's.[31]

While exacting data as to these early Negroes in Lubbock County, or even on the South Plains, is almost nonexistent, these scattered accounts lead one to the conclusion that Negroes were present in the county before the first official statistical count was made, though their numbers undoubtedly were few.

By 1880, the hunters and the soldiers had done their job and the rancher had come. The close of this era

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[30]Holden, "Indians, Spaniards, and Anglos," _History of Lubbock_, pp. 38-44. The very presence of the large ranch in Lubbock County raises another question--why were there no more blacks in the county at the time of the 1890 and 1900 census (two males in 1880)? Perhaps there were black cowboys before or after the 1890 enumeration, but the ranch was never very successful and apparently none of the cattle were ever driven to market. Most of the studies on black cowboys were done regarding cattle drives, and not the mundane day to day job. Due to the lack of drives, there probably never were many blacks, but it stands to reason that there were more than two.

[31]_Lubbock Morning Avalanche_, January 28, 1932.

of sparce American activity witnessed the opening of another phase of development--the establishing of the first permanent settlers' homes on the South Plains.

To the southwestern corner of present Crosby County and the northeastern corner of today's Lubbock County, Paris Cox, a Quaker from North Carolina, brought three other Quaker families to begin the first colonizing effort on the fertile high plains farm land of West Texas in the fall of 1879. The early efforts of these Quakers were not overwhelmingly successful, and by 1880, only the Cox family was left. Yet the small community of Estacado grew from this beginning and by 1890, there were over 200 people living there. Overlaping into Lubbock County initially, the town, which was the center of the community, later was in Crosby County. But it was the first permanent settlement on the plains and some of those identified with it actually lived in Lubbock County.[32]

The county of Lubbock had been created by legislative action on August 21, 1876. The first official records focusing on the county appeared with the 1880 Census. Lubbock County had twenty-five white males as

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[32]Holden, "Indians, Spaniards, and Anglos," pp. 36-38; Seymour V. Connor, "The First Settlers," History of Lubbock, pp. 52-53. According to Holden, the first settler on the Southern High Plains was H. C. Smith, but this was in Crosby County.

the total population in that year.[33] The residents were mostly an admixture of cattlemen and sheepmen, an unusual combination considering the "glamorized" confrontations of sheep herders and cattlemen in the past. The population also included some buffalo hunters and one stone mason, but none of these men were permanently settled.[34] The only name on that first census roll remotely associated with the founding of the county and the city was Zachery T. Williams, a sheep herder, who remained in the county until about 1890, when he sold out and moved to Florida.[35] Not listed in the census was George W. Singer, the first store owner in the county. The date of his move to Lubbock County is not clear,[36] but the presence of his store in the early 1880's was welcomed by the residents and the travelers of the county, and it served as the center of community life.

Due to a revision in the state land policies, the population of Lubbock County began to swell rapidly in late 1890. While only twenty-seven persons were found in

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[33] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*: *Agriculture*, Part I, p. 559.

[34] Connor, "The First Settlers," pp. 48-52.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66. An interesting and comprehensive account of the date Singer came to Lubbock is contained here. From the evidence presented, it seems that Singer established his store some time after 1881.

the county at the taking of the 1890 census, by late that year, over sixty men had filed applications to purchase public lands.[37] This was the turning point in the settling of Lubbock County. The population grew steadily after that.

As impersonal as the statistical data is, the 1890 census does indicate that of the twenty-five males and two females in the county, two of the men were black, twenty-one years of age or older.[38] In all likelihood, they were not family men, but either ranch hands, farm laborers, or itinerants. Since the large IOA Ranch was still in operation and there were not any large farms, it stands to reason that the two blacks were somehow connected with the ranch. This is supported by the fact there were only two farm families in the county.[39]

By 1892, the High Plains of West Texas was finally becoming settled with people who had an interest in establishing permanent homes, raising a family and earning a livelihood. The High Plains served as an excellent paradigm for Frederick Jackson Turner's interpretation of the westward settlement of the United States. First the

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[37] Ibid., pp. 55-60.

[38] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population Statistics, p. 785.

[39] Ibid., Farms and Homes, p. 280.

aboriginal American Indian had claimed the land, and they were followed by the Spaniards in their quest for the riches of the land. The explorer-buffalo hunter next appeared exploiting the one great surface resource the land had to offer. Once the buffalo had been decimated, the ranchers and sheep herders dominated the landscape. With the Paris Cox settlement in the area, other interested adventurers began to see that the land could support farming endeavors. With the farming contingent, an aura of permanency began to pervade and serious consideration was given to developing the area totally.

By the turn of the century, the county population had grown to 293. The two Negroes enumerated in 1890 had either moved on or died, however, for there were no Negroes in Lubbock County in 1900.[40] There were still blacks in the area at that time, but there were no large ranch headquarters in the county, consequently there were apparently no blacks working as cowboys. Growth had been fairly constant in the county from 1890 onward, although it dwindled slightly in the mid-1890's. But it had accelerated in 1899.[41]

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[40] Ibid., Part 1, p. lv.

[41] Connor, "The First Settlers," History of Lubbock, pp. 53-61.

Lubbock County had changed by 1900. The vast holding of the IOA Ranch had been broken up; Lubbock County now had forty-six farms.[43] However, less than a thousand acres were under cultivation. Forage crops, corn, mullet, vegetables, and cotton were the chief crops.[44] Although only twenty acres of cotton, which produced fifteen 500 pound bales, were planted in 1900, a far cry of things to come, this was a harbinger of great change.[45]

The beginning of the cotton culture provided the impulse for Negroes to migrate to the county, for here, as has so long been the case, the blacks would provide a considerable portion of the labor needed for the increasingly popular crop.

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[43]U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, _Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900_: _Agriculture_, Part I, p. 300.

[44]_Ibid._, Part II, _Agriculture_, p. 185, 262, 393.

[45]_Ibid._, p. 435.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

By the late 1890's, it was apparent to the owners of the IOA Ranch that their undertaking was not a profitable operation and that it should be discontinued. Similar decisions were made by other ranch holding interests on the South Plains. Gradually, these large holdings were broken up and sold. This attempt to salvage a monetary gain from the large land holding ranches opened the door for the South Plains to become a truly great agricultural producing region. When farmers came in ever increasing numbers to the area, they experimented with several crops. Milo maize became the major cash crop. However, cattle remained the main factor in the economy as late as 1909.[1]

While the westward advance of the farmers was relatively slow, there were several factors which contributed to the rapid growth of both the economy and the population in Lubbock. In 1909, the Sante Fe railroad was extended south from Plainview. The coming of the railroad meant farmers would have an easier time getting

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[1]Seymour V. Connor, "The New Century," A History of Lubbock, pp. 112-13.

their produce to market. In addition, the railroad promoted an extensive campaign to encourage immigration to Lubbock. This influx of settlers hastened the demise of cattle as the leading economic factor in the region.

The type of settlers to this region has been characterized as "young, intelligent, aggressive, self-reliant people of native extraction . . . willing to accept the privations of a frontier culture in their goal to improve their economic condition . . . and with no reservoir of common labor; they were on their own, free of the old feudal cotton system of their parents and the inertia of both age and custom."[2] While generalizations are, at best, hazardous, this seems to be fairly accurate with regard to the High Plains farmers. Yet, in time, it would become evident that they were not totally free from cotton.

As early as 1894, G. O. Graves made an unsuccessful attempt to grow several acres of cotton, but poor weather conditions thwarted his efforts. S. S. Rush planted ten acres in 1900, but lost the crop. The following year Rush planted forty acres making twenty-six bales, and Will Florence made four bales off ten acres. By 1904, 110 bales were produced in the county. But the cotton had to be

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[2]Don L. Jones, "Cotton on the Texas High Plains," The Cotton Gin and Oil Mill Press, January 24, 1960, Vol. 60, p. 24.

hauled to Colorado City to be ginned, and as a result of a town meeting that year, Frank Wheelock agreed to build and operate a gin if the townspeople would finance it. By the next year, with the gin in operation, the production rose to seven hundred bales. Apparently the number of farmers growing cotton increased very gradually over the next few years. In 1909, cotton accounted for seven per cent of all the cultivated area, and by 1919, it accounted for twenty-eight per cent and had replaced small grains as the leading money crop. In 1929, it would rise to fifty-three per cent of cultivated land.[3] By 1915, the production had increased only to 1,216 bales; 1916 was up to 3,564 bales; 1917 was down to 739 bales (probably due to lack of adequate rainfall, only 8.73 inches); 1918 saw 2,350 bales produced; and 1919 was the year for the real beginning of South Plains cotton culture with 14,492 bales produced (rainfall was an abundant 31.61 inches).[4]

As the cotton production increased it became evident that the lack of a ready labor force to harvest the crop was a major problem. Some farmers seemed to have solved the problem in the traditional way. In 1908, T. J.

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[3]Connor, "The New Century," A History of Lubbock, pp. 112-13.

[4]Joseph F. Gordon, "The History and Development of Irrigated Cotton on the High Plains of Texas" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1961), pp. 112-18.

Day indicated he would plant 135 acres of cotton and was confident that his large family would provide the needed labor to harvest the crop.[5] Unfortunately all farmers were not blessed with such a solution.

The obvious solution was to induce labor to come to the High Plains. Such a labor force existed. The cotton in southern Texas matured first and the time for harvesting slowly worked its way northward. A large, predominantly Mexican-American, labor force began harvesting cotton in the southern part of the state and as the maturation time moved northward, so did the labor force. For the farmers of the High Plains, this coincided perfectly with their ambitions to grow cotton on a larger scale.

By 1910, the High Plains farmers were assisted by migratory workers, who were eager to come. Wages were usually higher than those areas to the south,[6] and the High Plains farmers had a good reputation for labor relations. Shacks were constructed for the migrants, and some towns even built churches and schools for them. While most of the early labor force was Mexican-American, there were some Negroes and whites--the Negroes coming from

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[5] Ibid., p. 127.

[6] When Mack Jamison came to Lubbock in 1919, he was told that cotton farmers were paying $3.00 per hundred pounds picked, and that it was the best crop since 1910. After he came, he received as much as $3.75 and heard of some people getting $4.00 per hundred. Interview with Mack Jamison by Robert Foster, April 10, 1969.

East Texas.[7]

Migrant labor fulfilled a need and provided the reason for Negroes to come to West Texas and begin settlement permanently. However, most blacks who came to Lubbock did not come with the intent of making a new home.[8] Some blacks came and were unable to earn enough money to pay their way back to where they came from.[9] Some farmers actually paid men to go to other parts of the state and bring pickers to the South Plains on a consignment basis. This was especially true during the late 1910's and early 1920's.[10] While the migratory labor force proved to be a boon to the High Plains farmer, it was also a source of frustration. Prior to the sophisticated mechanical harvesting devices in the 1930's, the farmers were totally dependent upon manual labor to harvest the crop. The volume and timing of the migrant labor force depended solely upon conditions of the crop in South Texas. When that crop was harvested, the group moved northward. Since the time for harvest just preceded the first

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[7]Gordon, "History of Irrigated Cotton," pp. 128-31.

[8]Interview with Ms. Irby Whitfield by Robert Foster, March 27, 1969.

[9]Interview with Mr. Oscar M. Iles by Robert Foster, March 24, 1969.

[10]Interview with Mr. A. L. Vaughn by Robert Foster, March 25, 1969.

frost, which usually brought shorter days and colder weather, it was critical to get the crop harvested. This dependence upon uncontrollable factors probably hastened the development of mechanical equipment to gather cotton.[11] However, the local newspaper carried stories for several years regarding the shortage of cotton pickers, and for many years, the stimulus which continued to bring blacks to the area was the need for labor.[12]

The tremendous crop of 1919 placed a heavy demand upon the local farmers to find a way to harvest the crop. While this bountiful crop made obvious the need for outside labor, the need came in conflict with the attitude of Lubbock, which was one of intolerance toward the blacks.

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[11] Leota Lightfoot Matthews, "The History of the Lubbock Experiment Station, Substation No. 8" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Texas Tech University, 1959), p. 59.

[12] Lubbock Avalanche, November 6, 1919; Lubbock Morning Avalanche, October 8, 1925; Several in September and October, 1926; October 6, 1927; October 27, 1927; October 28, 1928; November 2, 1928; September 25, 1932; October 23, 1932. As seems to be the American way, there were those who tried to profit from this imbalance of labor supply and demand. On October 21, 1936, the Lubbock Morning Avalanche carried a story regarding the apprehension of men who were gathering Negroes in other part of the state and bringing them to the South Plains to sell for a price, including fare and food in transit. One load started in Dallas where thirty-two blacks were pulled in a trailer with no beds and given little to eat. Some had been auctioned for $18.75. This is the only story indicating illegal activities. Ms. Irby Whitfield indicated in her interview that many blacks caught the "Travelers Bureau," men driving cars to Lubbock, but there was no indication that they were forced to come. Interview with Ms. Irby Whitfield by Robert Foster, March 27, 1969.

The local newspaper, perhaps more accurately reflecting public opinion of an earlier era (due to a smaller population), had been quite active in voicing a strong anti-Negro sentiment. In 1909, the paper editorialized that "Lubbock could easily avert . . . trouble in the future by forbidding any Negroes to come to town. There is no need for trouble, just simply be firm and forbid them to come."[13]

Later that same year an article stated "when Mr. Coon oversteps the bounds of propriety, be wither north or south, he will get all that is coming to him. It is nice to theorize about the 'sweet-smelling' coon but along the lines of practical analysis, it goes up in the clouds."[14]

In January, 1910, the following editorial was published:

> There is strong sentiment against the advent of the 'nigger' [sic] into Lubbock and those that are slipping them in for servants are going to wake up some fine morning and find out that they have made a mistake.
>
> No longer than last week a 'she' coon was seen to come in and go prancing down the track with a white man. This article would not have been written had not a number of people called at the office and asked that it be done. We do not need the 'nigger' [sic] in the Lubbock section. They are a nuisance in other places and they will be the same here. This is white man's country and it should not be polluted by a lot of worthless 'nigger' [sic]. The argument that they are needed to do the work will not hold water, for every person who knows the ways of the 'coon' knows that they won't work.

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[13] Lubbock Avalanche, October 28, 1909.

[14] Ibid., November 18, 1909.

> The only way to keep the country from filling up with them is to keep all of them out. A few of the 'females' will draw many of the 'bucks.'[15]

Inference can be made from this article and those preceding that the total black population for Lubbock County was not growing substantially. With the lack of demand for a permanent labor force, there was no reason for blacks to subject themselves to this type of hostility. In view of the bigotry expressed by the local newspaper, the atmosphere for settlement by the black was not salutary and there should be little doubt as to why few of the Negroes who came to the Lubbock area to pick cotton chose to stay.

In 1909, there were no Negroes or Mexicans in Lubbock at all.[16] By 1910, the total population of Lubbock had increased from 293 in 1900, to 3,624. By contrast, the Negro population had increased from zero to five; there were four males and one female; only one male was of voting age.[17] In January, 1917, a local census indicated the Negro population had grown to only sixteen,[18] but by 1920,

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[15] Ibid., January 20, 1910.

[16] Winfred G. Steglich, "Population Trends," A History of Lubbock, p. 436.

[17] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population, Volume III, pp. 832-33.

[18] George P. Rush, "The Formative Years of Lubbock, Texas, 1909-1917" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Texas Tech University, 1934), p. 4.

the black population had grown to 152.[19] However, only sixty-three blacks lived in the city, which meant eighty-nine blacks lived on farms or otherwise outside the city limits of Lubbock. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the permanency of the black population since no statistics were kept on the housing situation. It is interesting to note that there were three Negro tenant farmers in the county, out of a total of 324 tenant farmers.[20]

With the increase of cotton as the "money crop" and an accompanying increase in the demand for labor, the farmers around Lorenzo, Texas, in November, 1919, sent a man to Louisiana to hire cotton pickers although he had reported from a previous trip that help was in short supply and the demand was great throughout the state.[21] Local schools had even been turned out for the children to aid in harvesting the crop, indicating the severity of the need.[22]

Later that month, it was reported that approximately

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[19] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Comparison, Characteristics, and Population of Texas*, p. 1005.

[20] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Agriculture*, Volune VI, Part 2, p. 677.

[21] *Lubbock Avalanche*, November 6, 1919.

[22] Interview with Ms. Dorothy Rylander by Robert Foster, April 17, 1969.

a hundred cotton pickers, mostly Negroes, had arrived in Lubbock. They were lured to the area by a rumor of high wages. That same report also reflected a changed attitude in that

> there probably was a time in the earlier history of the South Plains that the negro [sic] might not remain peaceable, but with the present conditions they have to be endured, so that the great crops of our country can be gathered and sold. They are here now, hundreds of them, and from the number of wagon loads of cotton coming into town daily, they are gathering the 'fleecy dough.'[23]

The fact that large numbers of blacks migrated to Lubbock several hundred miles from their homes and acquaintances, perhaps is indicative of the life that blacks faced in Texas sixty years after emancipation. The group that came north abandoned or was willing to give up its permanent roots to travel great distances on a "cotton pick." Something made some of them stay; something made these decide that the long return trip to east Texas would be worse than staying in Lubbock; something made these choose to begin a new life, a new community in a place that made them feel less than welcome. It would seem that they stayed in Lubbock by default; they could do no better than stay and tolerate the anti-Negro sentiment of the community.

While there was not yet a black community as such

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[23] Lubbock Avalanche, November 13, 1919.

developing in Lubbock, some early-comers to Lubbock had begun to settle. There is some discrepancy with accounts concerning the first permanent Negro resident in Lubbock, if "permanent" is measured by property ownership. One account indicates that Earl Johnson established residence in 1913 by owning land,[24] yet another account indicated that Calvin Quigley first established residency by purchasing land in 1915.[25] The accuracy of either account is inconsequential for both Johnson and Quigley, who were certainly among the early black settlers in Lubbock, had lived here before they purchased property. Others who came prior to the large influx of the twenties included Waymon and Rosie Henry, Mr. and Mrs. Mack Jamison, John and Mirarah Green, Bob Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Silas Johnson, and Andrew and Ida Stafford.[26]

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[24] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, January 28, 1932.

[25] Interview with Mr. Mack Jamison by Robert Foster, April 10, 1969. According to the Titular Abstract Book, Book 3, of the Lubbock Abstract Co., the first recorded transaction for a lot in the Negro section of town was Lot 15, Block 205, Old Town Addition, on December 10, 1917. This would be 1612 Avenue A and it was deeded to Calvin Quigley. Earl Johnson's name does not appear until he bought Lots 14 and 15, Block 205, Old Town Addition on September 1, 1921. It would seem that Calvin Quigley was the first permanent Negro resident in Lubbock, but there exists the possibility that land was purchased outside the then black section of town. Time precluded such an exhaustive research through all the abstracts.

[26] Interview with Ms. Rosie Henry by Robert Foster, March 29, 1969.

Calvin Quigley had ten acres south of Nineteenth Street near the present intersection of Avenue B. A Mr. Ellwood induced Quigley to come to Lubbock from East Texas about 1914 or 1915 and he was given ten acres, but worked a quarter section. Apparently Quigley was fairly well thought of, as during the harvest season some of his white neighbors would help him pick his cotton. On one occasion, Quigley was short-handed and asked Mack Jamison to recruit more workers. Jamison was able to get over twenty Negroes to come to Lubbock and Quigley paid them partial wages as soon as they arrived so they could repay their loans.[27]

In 1911, Will Sedberry had come to Lubbock without his family and worked as a cook in the old Merrill Hotel. At that time anti-Negro sentiment in Lubbock was so high that Will returned to Waxahachie, but came back to Lubbock in 1922 to settle permanently.[28]

Mr. and Mrs. Waymon Henry came to Lubbock in 1917 from Rosebud, Texas. They lived in servants quarters for a few years before building a house on Avenue A. She worked for a Mrs. A. D. Weaver, and Waymon worked for George Benson, the Ford dealer.[29]

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[27] Interview with Mr. Mack Jamison by Robert Foster, April 10, 1969.

[28] Interview with Mr. Charles Sedberry by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969.

[29] Interview with Ms. Rosie Henry by Robert Foster, March 29, 1969.

Since there was no established section of town for blacks, many of the early blacks did as the Henry's and lived in servants quarters, termed living "on the hill." In those early years the section termed "the flats" has not begun to develop. The "flats" was the name given to a section of Lubbock that was bordered by 16th Street and 19th Street on the north and south, and Avenue A and C on the east and west. Physically, this section of Lubbock is no more flat than the rest of the town. The name may be derived from other sections of the Old South, where the term was used with more accuracy to describe the black section which was often in the river bottom.

Even after the black population began to swell in 1919, however, indications are that there was no specified section of town in which for them to live. The local newspaper characteristically editorialized that the people of Lubbock had a real problem of maintaining their property values since the Negroes were allowed to live anywhere. "People are not going to stand for negro [sic] neighbors, and if there is not regulation made by the proper authorities there is liable to be regulations of a private nature, which should be avoided if possible . . . What are we going to do with the negroes [sic]?"[30] While this type of excited journalism was not uncommon, although

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[30] _Lubbock Morning Avalanche_, February 5, 1920.

blacks still numbered less than one and a half per cent of the total population in Lubbock, it demonstrates a concern for the growing numbers of blacks in what was virtually an all white community.

Blacks began purchasing property along Avenue A in December 1917, when Calvin Quigley obtained his lot. However, it was 1920 before a number of Negroes began to buy property. Avenue A had been very slow to develop prior to that.

Even though Quigley purchased property in 1917, Lee Moore probably was the first to build a house on Avenue A. John Green also built a house about the same time.[31] The lots here measured twenty-six feet across the front and sold for fifty to seventy-five dollars.[32] For the long, narrow wood frame houses which these lots would accommodate, the lumber companies, which built and financed them, charged about $500.[33] Slowly these homes

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[31]Interview with Waymon Henry by Robert Foster, April 18, 1969, and March 29, 1969. Lee Moore executed a mechanics lien against his property to Long Bell Lumber Company on September 25, 1920. Lubbock Abstract Company, Titular Abstract Volumes.

[32]Interviews with Mr. Oscar Iles, March 24, 1969; Mr. Charles Sedberry, April 8, 1969; Mr. George Woods, April 9, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[33]Interview with Mr. James Craven by Robert Foster, March 27, 1969. This was apparently not an uncommon practice, as the author noted other mechanics liens in other sections of town. There was no evidence as to exhorbitant prices being charged to the blacks.

were constructed as the focus of the black community.

Housing conditions for the blacks were very bad initially. Many blacks had to live in dugouts or "dirt houses," while others made houses out of anything they could find. With some scrap lumber and wire, a frame could be erected; then that was covered with tents or even cardboard boxes from one of the department stores downtown.[34] A number of the blacks could hardly afford the lots to say nothing of a house, so such dugouts, tents, or cardboard houses were not uncommon. No utilities were provided in that section of town. There were various wells near-by. A white couple named Mulligan lived in the 1900 block of Avenue A that had a windmill, and they let the Negroes have whatever water they needed free.[35] Without gas and electricity, wood and coal stoves and oil lamps provided heat and light.[36] All of the toilet facilities were outdoors.

The physical appearance of the Negro section of town probably differed little from that of any incipient community in West Texas. The common sight must have been a lot or block covered with weeds and mesquites, with an

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[34] Interview with Mr. Charles Sedberry by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969.

[35] Interview with Ms. Waymon Henry by Robert Foster, March 29, 1969.

[36] Interview with Ms. Maggie Tatum by Robert Foster, April 24, 1969.

occasional shack, dugout, or tent lining a foot worn path. There were no paved roads and very few cars. The streets were dusty and rutted from wagon and foot traffic. The Negro section was isolated from the rest of Lubbock. There were several foot paths to the downtown section, but the main road went down Avenue H to 18th Street then over to Avenue A.[37]

There were very few commercial businesses on Avenue A. Probably the first was a cafe owned and operated by Guy Cefres, located on the southeast corner of 17th and Avenue A. Combined with the cafe was a pool hall and it was a popular gathering place for blacks. On the southwest corner of 18th and A, Earl Johnson built a small building which was rented by Jake White and Waymon Henry as a barber shop.[38] The Sedberry's later had a cafe on 17th Street but this was not until 1923 or 1924.[39]

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[37]While the two communities, white and black, were developing in the 1920's, there was a third "city" beginning to form. The Mexican-American population began to grow in Lubbock after the development of the railroad in 1909. Few of the Mexicans stayed permanently until, much like the blacks, the demand for labor to harvest crops became a compelling reason. The area the Mexican-Americans lived in was called "Little Juarez" and it was on the north side of Lubbock, across the Sante Fe tracks. Lubbock Morning Avalanche, October 10, 1926.

[38]Interview with Ms. Waymon Henry by Robert Foster, March 29, 1969.

[39]Interview with Mr. Charles Sedberry by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969.

In 1924, Mrs. Lottie Pinkston and her husband purchased part ownership of a grocery store on the northwest corner of 19th and Avenue A, and began a flourishing trade. Mrs. Pinkston, a white woman, soon became a favorite of the blacks. At a time when it was not popular, Mrs. Pinkston was openly friendly to Negroes. She readily extended credit to them for the goods she sold (and had very few bad debts) and employed blacks to help her run the grocery store. Her store provided most of the essential groceries and she also sold kerosene, coal, and ice. At one time she had gasoline pumps, but did away with them. Mrs. Pinkston was held in high esteem by her patrons and undoubtedly her store and business practices made life much more bearable for the town's blacks.[40]

Very few blacks owned or operated their own businesses in Lubbock. Most were variously employed in a service capacity. Capital, even in limited amounts, was difficult, if not impossible, to acquire. Most of the women worked as maids for whites "on the hill," and the men were employed as porters, cooks, janitors, or similar capacities.[41] There were many classified advertisements

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[40]Interview with Ms. Lottie Pinkston by Robert Foster, April 11, 1969. Also interviews with Mrs. J. M. Robertson on March 28, 1969 and Mr. James Craven on March 28, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[41]The Lubbock Avalanche on January 3, 1922, ran an editorial which dealt with employment of whites and blacks. A letter writer had complained that many blacks held

in the local paper beginning in the mid-1920's seeking blacks for servile positions, such as housekeepers, house and laundry workers, or cooks.[42]

The white community established secret fraternal orders shortly after settlement. By 1909, several were in existence including Masons, Eastern Star, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Rebekahs, and Fraternal Order of Eagles. These early organizations fulfilled a need for fellowship for the early white citizens of Lubbock. Similarly, the black community began to establish its own lodges soon after Negroes became relatively numerous in the town. The earliest black fraternal order was probably the Masons, established in 1920.[43] Their lodge was on Avenue A between 16th Street and Broadway. It was later moved to the 1800 block of Avenue B.[44] The Knights of

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better jobs than a lot of whites, and they should be turned away and whites should fill those jobs. The editor responded with, "The Avalanche believes firmly in giving the white folks preference every time but until just recently, it has been impossible to secure the help of white people in the home . . ." From an employment standpoint, the blacks may have been doing better than some of the poorer whites.

[42]Lubbock Morning Avalanche, October 2, 1927; July 15, 1928; October 2, 1928; June 9, 1929; September 26, 1929; September 23, 1930; October 9, 1932; December 28, 1932; January 14, 1934; October 13, 1935; March 29, 1936.

[43]Interview with Ms. Waymon Henry by Robert Foster, March 29, 1969.

[44]Interview with Mr. Charles Sedberry by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969.

Pythias and the Eastern Star were organized about 1924. The Odd Fellows also began a chapter in Lubbock, but it never grew and finally disbanded. All of the fraternal groups used the Masonic building for their meetings.[45]

The fraternal organizations undoubtedly provided a social outlet for at least a portion of the black community. For example, there was a notice in the local paper as early as 1924 that the Negro Knights of Pythias and the Odd Fellows were planning a picnic which would include a free barbeque and parade.[46]

The life and activities of the blacks during the week may have been slow and unexciting, but on the weekends, especially during cotton season, Avenue A was teeming with workers coming to town for a good time. The weekend offered a time for visiting with friends, shopping or trading, and generally a break in the routine of fighting for subsistence. Little organized recreation activity was involved although the large building that Bob Johnson built at the northwest corner of 18th and Avenue was used on occasion for a dance. With money in their pockets, and very little activity to occupy them, it would seem normal that some illegal activities would be present, such as

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[45] Interview with Mr. Carlton Priestly by Robert Foster, April 9, 1969. Mr. Priestly remembers the Masons using Guy Cefres's cafe as a meeting place, also.

[46] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, July 26, 1924.

bootlegging liquor, prostitution, gambling, and the like. There were a few reports of such activities, but they were mostly instances of selling "home brew" and bootlegging. There also was some gambling on the second floor of Guy Cefres's cafe.[47] On Sunday, church life dominated black social activity.[48] For a variety of reasons, black social life was a great deal simpler in those early days.

As the black community began to struggle and more and more Negroes began to purchase and build their homes, the white people of the community became concerned about the possibility of living next door to blacks. This concern was voiced by the editor of the local newspaper:

> For many years no negroes [sic] were allowed to come here, but the home-help proposition got to a point where it seemed that this was the only solution, and now the town is full of negroes [sic]--all kinds. Some are working for private families and live in the servant house furnished by the employers. Others are here and work here and there at first one job and another and have to have some place to live and as a result the rent shacks and are living all over the city, next door neighbor to white folks, and this is not at all agreeable to many people, besides it is detrimental to the sale of property in neighborhoods where the conditions exists. And, furthermore where there is a vacant house, owned by someone who does not have any regard for the moral of the community, may rent it to colored folks, whether this building be next door to your house or mine, and we are forced to

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[47]Interview with Mr. Vernice Ford by Robert Foster, April 15, 1969.

[48]The role of the churches will be discussed in Chapter III.

> live there side by side with probably a noisy dirty family of negroes [sic].
> In all probability the time has come when our city must designate a certain portion of the city for these people to build their home and live separate and apart from the balance of us . . .
> People are not going to stand for negro [sic] neighbors, and if there is not regulations made by the proper authorities, there is liable to be regulations of a private nature, which should be avoided if possible . . .[49]

While that editorial indicates that blacks lived virtually everywhere, there were only sixty-three blacks that lived within the city limits at the time of the 1920 census, and the total population was 4,051. From the memories of many of the old black settlers, over half of the black population lived around Avenue A. It would appear that not many of the black population did in fact live in servants quarters "on the hill" or in rented shacks.

It was approximately three years later when the situation was brought to the attention of the city commission. On January 25, 1923, J. C. Royalty, J. J. Jones, and W. V. Cates asked the city to restrict blacks to a "certain portion of the southeast part of the Old Town Addition." The City Attorney, R. A. Sowder was instructed to prepare an ordinance, which would accomplish that.[50]

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[49] Lubbock Avalanche, February 5, 1920.

[50] Lubbock City Commission, Minute Book #3, January 23, 1923, p. 117.

While there is some question as to whether the law was officially enacted, the white populace was successful in its effort to restrict the blacks to one particular section of Lubbock. This attempt to coerce the blacks to live in an isolated area of the city caused no obvious outbreak of ill-feeling between the races at the time.[51]

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[51]The entire episode regarding Ordinance 225 is extremely curious, and there are several incongruities which are almost inexplicable.

As mentioned above, R. A. Sowder was asked to prepare an ordinance restricting the blacks. The file copy in the City Secretary's office contains the heading, "Ordinance No. 223" with the "223" penciled in. There are two proofreading changes in Section One which are minor. The date is penciled as March 8, 1923, and the draft contains the signatures of Percy Spencer as Mayor and J. R. Germany as City Secretary. There is a typed note at the bottom, "Approved as to form, R. A. Sowder, City Attorney."

Further investigation revealed that Ordinance 223 dealt with sewer expansion for Janes Contracting Company, and that ordinance was passed on March 8, 1923, according to the City Council Minute Book.

The ordinance dealing with residential restrictions for blacks became 225, and was never passed by the City Commission. Ordinance 224 was passed on April 13, 1923, and Ordinance 226 was passed on May 12, 1923. Ordinance #225 was never read into law.

However, Ordinance 225 was typed onto page 132 of Minute Book 3 of the City Commission Minutes. It was signed by J. R. Germany, the City Secretary, and Mayor F. R. Friend. It still contained the date March 8, 1923. Ironically, F. R. Friend was not elected mayor until the term following Percy Spencer, and took office on April 11, 1924, almost one year following the "enactment" of the law. Friend's signature was found on several of the pages during 1923, so he may have gone back through the book and placed his signature where ever Spencer had omitted his.

On page 185 of Book 1, Ordinances, City of Lubbock, an unsigned version of the ordinance appears. While this book does not make the ordinance official, it should be noted that most of the ordinances there were signed by

Even though there was at least an understanding to get the blacks to move to the designated section of town, the issue still appeared in the local paper at times. "That there are some negroes still living in servants houses in the best part of town that are really filthy and should be classed as a nuisance, and removed for the same cause."[52] And later, "Some folks are renting houses to colored folks. . . . There is no need to have a restricted district if this is to be allowed."[53] The housing restriction seems never to have been a serious issue, although the local paper periodically sought to set a moral tone by reminding the townspeople to be aware of the

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the Mayor and the City Secretary.

The rough draft copy of the ordinance also contains the pencil notation at the top:

PUB
Sunday 11
" 18
Wed 21

This probably was an indication of the times the law was to be published in the local newspaper. Unfortunately, those papers are not available--there is a gap in the newspaper morgue.

The only conclusion the author was able to make about all these circumstances was the local whites wanted leverage to force blacks to move to the "flats" and out of rent houses throughout the city limits. The law was never officially placed into the minute book, and that is a requirement for the law to be enacted. It seems like an inordinate amount of work and planning took place for the law to never be enacted. The author was unable to determine if the "law" was ever enforced, or even contested; _ibid_., the text of the ordinance appears in Appendix 1.

[52] _Lubbock Morning Avalanche_, May 27, 1925.

[53] _Lubbock Morning Avalanche_, September 5, 1925.

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restricted district.

The issue did surface in 1932, when several whites became convinced that the black district was expanding and demanded that those blacks living on the west side of Avenue C be required to move. However, the issue subsided when Max Coleman, a local attorney, interceded for the blacks. He indicated that the city council had permitted blacks to move on the west side of Avenue C, in order to eliminate whites facing blacks across the street.[54] The blacks had been told by some whites to move back east across Avenue C, but apparently it was just a threat--the Negroes did not move and there were no reports of any disturbances.[55]

It was hardly an accident that Max Coleman became involved in a property squabble in that section of town. Coleman had become actively involved with real estate and rent houses during the late twenties and early thirties. Part of his property acquisitions were the result of blacks being unable to pay for legal services rendered by Coleman.[56] He had a reputation of being the "colored people's

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[54]A review of City Commission Minutes for the years 1928, 1929, and 1930 revealed no official mention of moving the line a half a block west.

[55]_Lubbock Morning Avalanche_, October 6, 1932.

[56]Interview with Mr. George Eubank by Robert Foster, April 16, 1969.

lawyer." The rental property he offered was primarily along Avenue C and was termed by the residents as "Coleman's Alley."[57] While the houses were not elegant, they did offer a roof for some residents of the black community.

The town of Lubbock itself was growing very rapidly during the two decades from 1910 to 1930. The total population had increased from 1,938 to 39,104.[58] As the city grew along all fronts--population, as well as business, educational and religious institutions--there seemed to be present one overriding characteristic of both the town and its people. When any obstacle was encountered during this rapid expansion the townspeople worked together for the common good rather than factionalize into time consuming arguments that tended to deter real growth. Notwithstanding

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[57]Interview with Mr. George Woods by Robert Foster, April 9, 1969. There were some that thought Coleman was trying to exploit the blacks through his rent property, but the author could find no evidence of exhorbitant rental rates. Others thought he did a service to the blacks by furnishing housing for rent. Interviews with Dorothy Rylander, April 17, 1969; Ada Graves, April 8, 1969; H. D. Woods, April 1, 1969; Irby Whitfield, March 27, 1969, and May 7, 1969; Mr. H. D. Woods related a story that he was in the "flats" one day looking for someone and stopped to ask directions. He found Coleman in the house with a Colt revolver on the table. He asked about the pistol and Coleman said it was his persuader if someone was dilatory in paying his rent.

[58]U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, _Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population_, Volume III, p. 788; _ibid._, _Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930:_ Volume III, Part 2, p. 962.

the possible motives for the citizens' haste, Lubbock did grow and grow rapidly.

Many of the early settlers had invested wisely into real estate or commercial enterprises. Nothing but profits could result from a bustling economy, and to maintain that growth rate, the citizens realized that the city had to be promoted. As early as August 22, 1907, the Lubbock Commercial Club had been founded, with a membership of sixty business and professional men. It was the predecessor of the Chamber of Commerce and was founded to promote the growth of the town.[59]

It would be overly simplistic to suggest that the only motivation for Lubbock citizens to work in harmony was urged by a strong feeling of greed. Obviously, there was a unifying effect growing from the hardships and privations faced during those early days. Perhaps the effect was synergistic in nature and with the snowballing atmosphere, the town grew rapidly.

Part of the attitude of the white citizenry of Lubbock was concerned with keeping the town an attractive place to live for white newcomers. Obviously, part of their effort to maintain the attraction was to control the black segment of the population--in numbers, in

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[59] Connor, "The New Century," A History of Lubbock, pp. 107-8.

activities, and in location.

Prior to the demand for labor to harvest the cotton crops, Lubbock seemed to want to promote an atmosphere of being anti-Negro to dissuade any blacks from coming. The efforts were, for the most part, successful, to the extent that very few blacks came to the High Plains until there was a strong reason to fight the resentment and hostility. The 1923 residential "restriction" was an attempt to control the location of the black population, and again, it was successful. Except for blacks living in servants quarters "on the hill," the black community was fairly well restricted to the "flats."

Lubbockites took great pride in its early cooperative spirit that helped establish a major metropolitan city, but clearly blacks were not a "part" of Lubbock. The white attitude toward the blacks became one of tolerance toward a necessary evil.

An example of the concern for the image of the town was indicated by the issue of relocating the Slaton Highway. Initially the highway went through the black community and the local newspaper observed that this created a bad impression on visitors first coming to Lubbock. At the paper's insistence, the route was changed to where the highway went south down Avenue H to Thirty-Fourth Street, then east to the cemetery and followed

the railroad tracks to Slaton, several miles around the blacks' homes.[60]

In Lubbock, as in the rest of the state, there could be no doubt that blacks were discriminated against. The movie theaters had separate seating (blacks usually were seated only in a balcony) and restaurants had separate places in the back of the kitchen where the blacks could eat.[61]

Another example of discrimination by whites toward blacks appeared when the bus franchise was awarded to W. A. Izard in 1926. Izard was authorized by ordinance to operate a bus service over Main, Broadway, 13th, 16th, 19th, and connecting streets. He was to operate it especially to favor Texas Tech students. The last paragraph of the ordinance granting the franchise stated "it shall not be necessary for the franchised to carry persons of African descent and he shall not carry them in a bus wherein white persons are invited to ride."[62] This ordinance stayed in effect for three years until the City Commission amended the original ordinance to allow the transportation of persons of African descent, "on condition that such

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[60] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, July 4, 1925; July 8, 1925; July 10, 1925; July 17, 1925.

[61] Interview with Mr. George Eubank by Robert Foster, April 16, 1969.

[62] City of Lubbock, Ordinance Book #1, September 23, 1926.

passengers are required to ride in the rear in a separate space or compartment provided for them, and an appropriate sign is erected and maintained so as to separate their space and compartment from that of white folks, such sign to be of metal and carried in the rear of the coach on the dividing line between the colored passengers and the white passengers, one side of said sign showing the words, 'For Whites,' and the other side showing, 'For negroes' [sic], or similar words."[63]

There was no overt resistance by the blacks toward this obvious method of discrimination until the 1950's. As with the housing restriction, the blacks at least outwardly accepted the dictates of the City Commission and attempted to live within the guidelines established by the white majority.

Throughout the decade of the 1920's, the local newspaper published articles which perpetuated the depiction of blacks as being happy-go-lucky, living the life of bootleg whiskey and beer, and gambling. While impossible to determine how prevalent booklegging and gambling were, the newspaper reporting certainly reenforced the

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[63]City of Lubbock, Ordinance Book #1, October 24, 1929.

popular white image of the black community.[64] As happened in many other towns and cities, it is possible that whites encouraged vice in the black community and even depended on black bootleggers for liquor.

There were two instances of comments by the local paper which brought forth responses from local black leaders. They both are interesting for the insights they provide to the attitude of both the white populace and the black community.

The first incident grew out of comments by the editor on the possibility of Negro prostitutes luring the white boys into compromising situations. The paper went on to add gratiously that:

> Lubbock must be made clean, if we are to maintain the high standards that we are known by . . . There is entirely too much freedom accorded the negroes [sic] of this town anyway. . . . We do not see any use of our wife having to give a bunch of negroes [sic] the sidewalk, but this is sometimes the case or else rub elbows with some greasy, stinking son of Ham, who seems to think he has as much right to the sidewalk as she has, and is not willing to make any concessions. All of the negroes [sic] are not this way. Some of them realize that they are negroes [sic], but there are too many of them who do not realize that they

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[64] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, December 9, 1923; December 30, 1923; April 5, 1924; June 15, 1924; June 17, 1924; November 22, 1924; July 16, 1926; November 25, 1926; February 6, 1927; February 18, 1927. Interview with Vernice Ford by Robert Foster, April 15, 1969; interview with Charles Sedberry by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969. Sedberry related an amusing story of a bootlegger that had beer brought to him by bus from Amarillo. He had no car, so he carried it home from the bus station on his back.

> are low-bred sons of Africa, and are not entitled to the rights and privileges of our streets, night or day, that the white people are.[65]

In response to that editorial, a group of concerned black citizens wrote the paper the following letter:

> To the citizens of the city of Lubbock: We, the undersigned negroes, citizens of the city of Lubbock and County of Lubbock, State of Texas, wish to make known to the people of the city and county, that we and others do not approve of any such conduct as we read in the Lubbock Avalanche of May 24, 1924, and are willing to be instrumental in getting rid of any such characters. We have expended our little earnings here on homes for ourselves and wish also, the advice of our white friends, as a Christian people we want the friendship of the white people and cannot live in peace without it. Hoping that you all will continue to treat those of us who abide by the laws of the land to the best of our knowledge like to have been treated in the past. We promise to continue to be law abiding people and try to cause others to amend their ways.
> We are yours for law and order,
> /s/ Arthur Garret, Will Ed Taylor, Tom Johns, E. J. Jamison, John Dunn, John Ford, Lee Moore, Rev. A. C. Bankston, pastor of the A.M.E. Church, Advisor.[66]

That letter was followed by editorial comment applauding the black group effort and stated "that the people of Lubbock have no fight against the negroes [sic] who are staying in their place, and know how to act toward the white population, but there was a determined effort going to be put forth to rid the town of any other class."[67]

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[65] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, May 24, 1924.

[66] Ibid., May 28, 1924.

[67] Ibid., May 29, 1924.

The second exchange occurred almost a year later when the editor wrote "We are of the opinion that although there are possibly five hundred negroes [sic] in Lubbock, not one of their names is on the subscription list to bring the [Fort Worth and] Denver [Railroad] to Lubbock." Again the editor took the opportunity to vent anti-black venom:

> They are not on the list of people who want to work either. We can not see any legitimate reason for so many negroes [sic] in town anyway. They will not give an honest day's work in return for good wages and they will take a job in the home only with the understanding that they be waited on by the mistress of the house. We do not wish to be understood as advocating any harsh means of dealing with this class of people, but there is one thing certain that we should see to it that the idle negroes [sic] go to work, and that they be required to give good service or be asked to beat it from the city.[68]

That editorial brought a response which was in some ways a rebuke from the black community, as well as comment on the "place" they were assigned in the city:

> We were longing to render whatever assistance we could, however, insignificant it may have been, and so expressed the propriety of doing such, whenever called on to do so, but we felt embarrassed to take the initiative in a program of such magnitude. We listened with both ears to the ground to hear of the committee coming to us as we expected they would; but we were disappointed. We are perfectly in accord with every effort put forth by the citizens for a better and more prosperous city, and all we might suggest here is, when you need us we are as we always been: ready to marshal our forces and concentrate our efforts in whatever direction that will tend to

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[68] Ibid., May 17, 1925.

> better our city, state, and country, Since the coming of the railraod would no doubt enhance the value of our property, we feel that as taxpayers and citizens, we should share in this momentous program. We feel that the good white citizens realize the fact that we are here to help in every honorable way to prove ourselves worthy of your help, protection, and confidence. We think as you, with regard to that class of people who refuse to give in return an honest day's work for wages paid. There are other conditions here with which we have to contend that we do not approve, but how shall they be remedied? With your many years of experience and trained leadership, makers of the laws, interpret and execute the same; may we not ask of you to suspend judgment and give us a chance?
>
> Wm. Wilson, Principal Colored School, Guy Cefres, Rev. L. B. Moore, W. C. March, F. E. Thompson, W. H. Henry, John Ford, C. A. House, John Harris.[69]

Since the editor of the paper has the right to the last word, he responded in a classic racist diatribe:

> There are a few worthy colored people in this city, and we appreciate them in their place: but as a whole, the majority of them are worthless, shiftless, undependable, and a menace to society, and should be invited to change their way of living or change their place of abode.
>
> It is thoroughly disgusting to try to get house help in this city. Dozens will apply for the place; but they will not do any washing, or they will not do any ironing. They will not do any washing of windows or they cannot cook.

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[69]*Ibid*., May 23, 1925. It should be noted that those signing these two letters are not the same group. Perhaps the two groups simply were representing church affiliations, or perhaps in that year, tacit leadership had changed hands. Apparently, however, the black community in Lubbock did not develop a strong unified leadership group until abour the era of World War II. Perhaps the small size and transient nature of the community explains this. In any case, not until Dr. Chatman did one man emerge as the spokesman for and leader of the black community. Interviews with Mr. H. D. Woods, April 1, 1969; Mr. Charlie Guy, May 2, 1969, by Robert Foster.

> We are for the law-abiding negro [sic].
> We are for the fellow that wants to do an honest days work. We are for the fellow that will help to rid the town of the objectionable characters--but we are just as much opposed to the shiftless, worthless fellows, white or black, and no town is better for having them. The better class of negroes [sic] can do much to rid the town of the class of people that we have mentioned, and they would be more appreciated by the leaders of the town if they would assist the officers in driving from our midst, the negroes [sic] who are conducting ill-famed houses, which we have been told by some colored men that numbers of them are. They can help us to drive such characters from our city, and they are not doing their duty nor showing a disposition to live up to the statements given in the above letter till they do this.[70]

From these two exchanges, two things became apparent. The local newspaper, and perhaps the majority of the white population, had very little use for the blacks in Lubbock. The blacks were eager to eschew any confrontation that would upset the delicate balance in which they precariously lived, but in their own way did demonstrate a level of dissatisfaction with their lot. The editor of the paper used his position to pen some caustic comments in retaliation to this even minor show of dissatisfaction. Regardless of his motive, the paper continued less than kind in its publicity about Negroes. With headlines such as "CRAP SHOOTING NEGROES WILL BE BAPTIZED; COONS PARTICIPATE IN SHOOTING SCRAP TUESDAY; NEGRO YOUTH TO DIE FOR ATTACK ON WHITE WOMAN; NEGRO

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[70] _Ibid._, May 23, 1925.

YOUTH HELD FOR SLAYING 2-YEAR OLD GIRL; NEGRO FORGER IS AMONG COUNTY BOARDERS,[71] the newspaper reenforced the general public opinion that Negroes were a low form of life who were not to be trusted.

A more subtle deterrent to the development of a strong black community in the early 1920's was the presence of the Ku Klux Klan in Lubbock. During the resurgence of a feeling of nativism that swept the country during that decade, the Ku Klux Klan became very active in its vigilante style of enforcing a very strict narrow moral code.

Northwest Texas had several active chapters, including those in Amarillo, Canyon, Brownfield, Plainview, Slaton, and Lubbock. The local newspaper made several reports of Klan activities and parades.[72] In Lubbock, the Klan visited two white churches on two separate occasions to leave a donation and a letter which reiterated their beliefs.[73]

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[71] Lubbock Avalanche, June 17, 1920; June 20, 1922; Lubbock Morning Avalanche, May 10, 1924; May 11, 1924; November 19, 1924.

[72] Lubbock Avalanche, December 13, 1921; December 30, 1921; February 7, 1922; March 21, 1922; April 7, 1922; May 12, 1922; June 9, 1922; June 13, 1922; June 16, 1922; September 22, 1922; July 21, 1923; August 27, 1923; Lubbock Morning Avalanche, February 12, 1924; July 2, 1924; July 8, 1924; October 8, 1924; July 5, 1925.

[73] Lubbock Avalanche, August 25, 1922.

During the zenith of Klan activities in Lubbock, there was only one reported instance in the local paper where members of the local Klan became involved directly with the black community.

> Nigger [sic] town was about the busiest place in all the city last Tuesday evening when, it is reported, about a dozen and a half masked and gunned Klansmen entered that section of the city, left a few warnings to the dusky citizens that it would be better for their physical welfare to get jobs and stay on them if possible. The Klansmen, it is reported, harmed no one while in that section, other than scaring a few of the darkies out of several month's growth.[74]

Thus, by the middle twenties, blacks were in Lubbock, but were not of it. They were segregated in housing and entertainment, and held out of most community affairs. They worked at the most menial jobs; yet, the institutions of a separate community had begun to emerge.

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[74] Ibid.

CHAPTER III

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Conditions which might have enabled blacks in West Texas to satisfy their basic psyshological and physiological needs were lacking the the early twentieth century. Just to provide for the basic need of self preservation was almost an all-consuming task. Jobs, when available, paid traditionally meager wages; housing was inadequate; and even the purchase of food no doubt caused a great deal of consternation for many bread-winners. It was a dismal situation, with limited possible escapes to a better way of life.

The social and educational institutions black Lubbockites developed perhaps helped to provide some meaning, some sense, in an otherwise hostile society. Perhaps they offered diversions to blacks that turned their attention from their everyday problems. However, it could be suggested that what blacks generally desired foremost during this evolutionary period of development was a better life and since that better life was not available in their corporeal world it was sought in the mental, emotional or spirtual world.

Generally, the slaves brought to America were not

Christians and there was little effort to spread the gospel to the slaves until the turn of the Eighteenth Century. Whether or not a slave owner allowed his slaves to attend church--either a white church with a segregated seating area, or a separate black church--blacks began to turn to religion in increasing numbers. Usually their needs were attended by a white minister, but there were a few black preachers. On a localized basis, the slave who overcame the inability to read and write often became a religious leader. One such leader was Nat Turner who led his religious followers on one of the more famous Negro slave uprisings in 1831. That rebellion, along with others during that time, caused more stern treatment of the slaves by whites. One aspect of this increased severity was the regulation of black meetings of any kind, including religious gatherings. Slaves had to either attend white churches or have a white minister lead the services. At the end of the Civil War Negro Christians left the pews in white churches. The blacks began to build their own denominations. Both white pressure and the blacks' desires to run their own affairs contributed to this development. More and more the black preachers emerged as community leaders and the blacks flocked to the church.[1]

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[1]Gunner Myrdal, An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (Harper and Row: New York, Evanston, and London, 1962), p. 859-60. This view of

Perhaps the newfound strength of the Negro church was rooted in the fact that the members discovered hope in spite of the tremendous adversity they faced. The blacks saw that religion was an avenue to the better life. "This need, perhaps more than anything else . . . attached the Negro so strongly to his church and accounts for his reputation as a religious person . . . It is not too much to say that if the Negro had experienced a wider range of freedom in social and economic spheres, there would have been fewer Negroes called to preach and fewer Negro churches."[2] Additionally, the church was a "respectable" organization which could serve as a social and political focus for the black community.

No doubt exists that the lack of social and economic freedom in Lubbock played an important role in the early beginnings of organized religion. The hostility of white Lubbock did not make the community more attractive to blacks seeking refuge from hostilities in other parts of the state, nonetheless, blacks did come. Very early they established churches with virtually no outside help.

There was hardly a distinguishable black section of Lubbock when the first church was begun. With a population of less than twenty blacks, Ida Stafford organized

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religion and slavery perhaps is by necessity brief. For a more in depth analysis, see Blassingham, The Slave Community, pp. 59-76, and Jordan, White over Black, pp. 179-215.

a Sunday School in her one room house on October 2, 1917. That was the beginning of Mt. Gilead Baptist Church.[3] It was three years before another church was organized. The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church got its start in the spring of 1920 also in the house of one of its members.[4] In April, 1921, Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church was begun in a member's house, and other churches followed--the Presbyterian Church and Mt. Vernon or Mosley Chapel (Methodist Episcopal) in 1925; the Holiness Church and New Hope or Mt. Calvary Baptist Church in 1927.[5]

None of the early churches could afford to pay a preacher on a full time basis. Often times, they either did without a minister or had the services of a traveling preacher on a monthly basis. The paucity of adequate finances also plagued the small congregations when a

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[3]Typescript of the 50th Anniversary Memorial of Mt. Gilead Baptist Church, prepared by Ms. Waymon Henry. Typescript in Ms. Henry's possession.

[4]Program of the Formal Opening of Carter Chapel Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, Sunday, January 12, 1969. The program, in the hands of the author, will be deposited in the Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University.

[5]_Greater Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church_, September 19, 1954, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University; _Messiah Presbyterian Church_, Program Celebrating the 37th Anniversary, [ca. 1962] Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University; _Mount Vernon Methodist Church_, Program for Service of Consecration, April 14, 1968, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University; Interviews with Ms. Irby Whitfield, May 7, 1969; Mr. D. C. Fair, April 28, 1969; Ms. Wayman Henry, April 18, 1969, by Robert Foster.

building was considered. The first black church building was that for Mt. Gilead which was a two room house in the 1600 block of Avenue A built in 1918.[6] From the beginning the church had its problems. The following notice appeared in the local newspaper in 1919:

> The following appeal from Mt. Gilead Colored Baptist church is made to the white folks of this community. . . . One year ago we owed $423 on our church house and lot. During the year we have paid $270.42, leaving a balance of $106.58 on the house and $48 on the lot, plus a few dollars interest. The white folks have been very generous in helping us to obtain this property, and we thank you very much, but there are only a few colored folks in Lubbock, and our preacher comes to us once a month from a long distance and we have to pay his railroad fare and also a salary, which takes all the money we can get, hence we are in need of a little more help from the white folks to clear our church of debt. Our solicitors will be around to see you soon, and anything you may have to give for this cause will be greatly appreciated.[7]

That appeal was followed by another thirteen months later:

> Whereas, we the colored people of Lubbock, wish to be properly understood relative to their church improvement, we take this plan of advertising. There is only one truly organized church in town of our race as there is scant enough to support it at present. We have out 7 canvassers asking for aid to repair our house. There is some canvassing going on in the name of the church that is out of

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[6]Interview with Ms. Waymon Henry by Robert Foster, March 29, 1969. According to the abstract records, the first lots purchased were Lots #16, 17, and 18 of Block 205, Original Town, in December, 1919, and were deeded to the West Texas Baptist Assn., Lubbock Abstract Company, Titular Abstract Volumes.

[7]*Lubbock Avalanche*, May 15, 1919.

> self interests at heart. Such canvassing is high-class stealing and is not with us at all since we had rather have an honest time than to have a stolen dollar. With respect to our colored Methodist, they are using our house with a welcomeness of all. We are proud of their efforts now. A two fold obligation is ours as we are to have a school which we so much appreciate and our house is too small. This of course makes us beggars in this case. These are the names of our solicitors: Effie Foard, Renah Moore, Alburta Sims, Myrtle Johnson, Edna Ridge, Charlie Lancaster, Quitman Pearce. These are the ones to give to to help us; to give to others is giving to individuals themselves.[8]

This indicates that finances were still short to undertake the needed improvements, but perhaps the building had been paid through the campaign in 1919.

As with Mt. Gilead, all of the black churches started in the home of one of the members of the congregation, most of whom probably had hardly enough money to support their families. The needs that were satisfied by the church were obviously strong. The church provided the reason and place for the only social gatherings most of the black community could enjoy. The small black community respected and assisted each other in the organizing efforts. The different denominations often shared facilities. The churches were well supported by the black community and when one church would have a special function, all blacks attended This was especially true of revivals, which were usually

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[8] Lubbock Avalanche, June 10, 1920.

nondenominational.[9] Cooperation between the different churches was evidenced by the fact the Ella Iles helped all churches with their plays since whe was good with dramatics.[10]

The white churches contributed very little to the emergence of the black churches. As in all other respects, racial segregation was maintained by the white churches.[11] While there were isolated instances of a white church assisting the black church of the same denomination, these instances were rare.[12] Generally, the black churches survived by the tenacity of their members. The founding of the Presbyterian Church is an excellent example of this persistence and self-reliance.

Mr. William Sedberry, a cook for the Lubbock Hotel, purchased a lot on the northwest corner of 17th Street and Avenue B from J. C. "Cash" Royalty at a price which included a large donation from Mr. Royalty for the purposes

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[9] Interview with Mr. Oscar Iles by Robert Foster, March 24, 1969.

[10] Interview with Ms. J. M. Robertson by Robert Foster, March 28, 1969.

[11] This racial segregation appeared in the newspaper several times. However, the articles indicated there was a function at a black church and special seating was being provided for whites. <u>Lubbock Morning Avalanche</u>, December 21, 1926; January 19, 1931; July 30, 1931; <u>Lubbock Avalanche-Journal</u>, July 26, 1931.

[12] Merton L. Dillon, "Religion in Lubbock," <u>A History of Lubbock</u>, p. 495.

of building a church. Mr. Sedberry spent about a year and a half soliciting donations for his church dream. He raised enough money for the foundation. After it was completed, he would raise enough to complete another phase of the building, then solicit some more. It took over five years to complete the project and while there were several other people involved in the church building project, it was primarily due to the efforts of Mr. Sedberry that the church was finally completed.[13] While Mr. Sedberry's efforts are exemplary, that same spirit and tenacity was common among the early founders and members of other denominations.

The early churches were not much more than shacks. Light was provided by coal oil lamps and the furniture consisted of old chairs and pews. The women made their robes and slip covers for the rough seats, often with the family initials on the back. The churches were well attended but the membership grew very slowly, paralleling the slow growth of the population. Additionally the congregation was slow to accept new members, unless they were convinced the newcomers really had been converted, perhaps

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[13]Interview with Mr. Charles Sedberry by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969. Messiah United Presbyterian Church Program Celebrating the 37th Anniversary, July 5, 1928-July 5, 1965, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University.

through the revealing of a personal testimonial.[14]

The success of the Negro churches was evidenced by their continuous growth. What the early comers to Lubbock, both black and white, worked diligently to establish, grew steadily both in numbers of churches and size of the congregations. The church buildings were practically the only place Lubbock blacks could congregate. As a result they were the location for a wide variety of social and community gatherings. The foundation of a black church body gave some sense of order and permanence to the black community and from this semblance of security and orderliness germinated the desire to secure a school system to educate their children.

The educational development of the black community in Lubbock evolved in a pattern no different than those of other public cultural institutions. Even after the need for a black educational system was recognized by the white community, that responsibility was met on a very low priority basis. The development of the white educational system aroused much more interest and activity than did the black system. Once problems, mostly those of rapid growth and poor financing, were solved for the white system, the black school was attended to--in a cursory fashion.

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[14]Interviews with Ms. Ella Lewis, April 9, 1969; Mr. Oscar Iles, March 24, 1969; Ms. Irbie Whitfield, March 27, 1969, by Robert Foster.

Development of a Negro educational system posed no problem during most of the first two decades of the Twentieth Century--there were no blacks to educate. The white school system of Lubbock grew rapidly during the time and the local townspeople did their best to cope with the inherent problems of rapid growth. Several bond issues were necessary just to provide adequate facilities for education.

With the educational problems that the townspeople faced and considering their attitude of only tolerating the black as a necessary evil, two early instances reflect the lack of commiseration from the white community toward black education and help to indicate the attitudes which dominated black-white relations. An early school board member, Roscoe Bayless, indicated that Lubbock schools progressed during these early years because "there were 'very few niggers and no Mexicans' in the community."[15] In May of 1926, a Woman's Club committee inspected the sanitary conditions of the school system and found those of the black school to be very poor. The committee stated that "regardless of whether or not we want them the negroes are in Lubbock and in Lubbock to stay, and it is Lubbock's duty to take care of the problem to the best of

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[15]Lynn R. Musslewhite, "The Lubbock Public Schools, 1891-1941" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Texas Tech University, 1969), p. 93.

her ability."[16] Almost in spite of the white population then, the black educational system developed in Lubbock. It was because of the tenacity of the blacks that their system grew.

The school board hired a black school teacher well before the first building was provided for black education. Sadie Taylor was the first black hired by the school board for the black school. She was paid an annual salary of $720,[17] compared to the average white elementary school teacher's salary of $990.[18] At the same time, Buela Dixon was hired to teach the Mexican children "for another year" with an annual salary of $990.[19] The local newspaper indicated that Lubbock would begin "its 'Americanization' of the negroes and Mexicans this year by starting each a

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[16] Ibid., p. 94.

[17] Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, July 13, 1920. According to Waymon Henry, Superintendent M. M. Dupree asked Henry and John Green to be responsible for securing a black teacher for Lubbock. Dupree felt that these two could be more effective. Perhaps Dupree, beset with problems such as overcrowding and expansion, did not have the time to spend on such a low priority item as this. Interview with Waymon Henry by Robert Foster, April 18, 1969. Several sources indicated that Ella Carruthers (Iles) was the first black teacher hired for black students, but Sadie Taylor was the first, and she also was remembered by some of the people interviewed. Interviews with Mr. E. C. Struggs by Lynn R. Musslewhite, February 22, 1969, and Mr. Oscar Iles by Robert Foster, March 24, 1969.

[18] Musslewhite, "The Lubbock Public Schools," p. 92.

[19] Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, June 7, 1969.

separate school. The increase in this class of population has been tremendous . . . [and as] there is money prorated to each scholastic of such people, there are justifiable to schools."[20] With that attitude prevalent, there is little doubt as to why it was much later that efforts were made to better the black educational system.

Without a building in which to hold classes for the small number of scholastics, Miss Taylor was forced to hold school in servants' quarters for about three months. She left town for the Thanksgiving holidays in 1920 and never returned.[21] Miss Taylor was replaced by a Mrs. Butler the following September and she taught one school year, from September of 1921 to May of 1922. Mrs. Butler held class in the Mt. Gilead Church since there still was no building. At the end of that school year, Mrs. Butler and her husband returned to their home town due to his health.[22] During these years there were fewer than twenty black students to attend school.[23]

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[20] Lubbock Avalanche, June 24, 1920. In today's perspective, it seems ironic that the Americanization of the Negroes in Lubbock necessitated separate facilities.

[21] Interview with Mr. Waymon Henry by Robert Foster, April 18, 1969.

[22] Ibid.; Interview with Mr. Oscar Iles by Robert Foster, March 24, 1969.

[23] Appendix 2.

In June of 1921, the school board had indicated they would continue to employ a black teacher if the black population would provide land and a school building.[24] The local black population raised the necessary money to purchase the north half of Block 220, Old Town Addition, primarily from Bob and Earl Johnson and Mike Pierce.

The details are unclear as to what actually happened relative to the purchase of the land and the construction of the wood frame school house. But by late 1923, the two room school was completed and the black community had a school.[25]

In September, 1922, the school board had hired Ella Carruthers to teach the black students; her salary was $80 per month.[26] During that school year, Miss

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[24]Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, June 9, 1921.

[25]In an interview with Oscar Iles, he recalled that the blacks bought the land and the school board furnished the funds for the building; Interview with Oscar Iles by Robert Foster, March 24, 1969. That agrees in substance with the information related by Charles Sedberry to Robert Foster on April 8, 1969. However, the school board minutes indicate that Mr. K. Carter, W. B. Atkins, and Dr. Bollinger were appointed as a committee to buy lots for the Negro school building. Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, April 18, 1923. Later, the board voted to buy the site for the school out of $80,000 bond money available. Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, November 5, 1923. While some of the information is contradictory, it seems likely that the black community raised the money and purchased the land, while the Board furnished the building.

[26]Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, September 9, 1922.

Carruthers had to use the Mt. Gilead Church as Mrs. Butler had done the year before.[27] No attendance figures are available, but there were forty-seven black scholastics in the school district that year.[28]

With the completion of the building during the 1923-24 school year the school had an adequately sized facility. This proved true for a very brief time. The Negro scholastic population that year was again forty-seven, but the following year, it more than doubled to ninety-seven.[29] A year later, there were 160 scholastics and the building was just too small. Half-day sessions were instituted and a second teacher was hired. William M. H. Wilson was hired at $100 per month to be the principal and teach, and Miss Carruthers still was employed as a teacher for $80 a month.[30] These two continued their efforts at educating the black children even though the number of scholastics was increasing steadily. At the beginning of 1929, there were 226 scholastics enumerated in the school district.[31] In December, 1929, the school

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[27]Interview with Mr. Oscar Iles by Robert Foster, March 24, 1969.

[28]Appendix 2.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, April, 1925.

[31]Appendix 2.

board decided they perhaps should act, and they voted to add one room onto the existing stucco building.[32]

The school was named Dunbar School after the Negro poet, Paul Lawrence Dunbar. Apparently the students chose the name about 1926. The name first appears in the school board minutes on April 5, 1927.

During the period of 1923 to 1930, the development of the black school system was less than spectacular. While enrollment over this period increased from forty-seven scholastics to 227, the number of teachers remained the same. Due to the overcrowded conditions, the overflow had to be often handled in nearby church buildings. Apparently Wilson's wife gave some assistance though she was never paid by the school board.[33]

The building hardly provided a conducive learning environment. It was heated by a coal or wood stove in each room. The desks and benches were handed down from the white schools as were the chalk boards, textbooks, and other necessary items. When the third room was added, one

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[32]In August, 1927, the board had authorized A. C. Jackson to build a third room for the Negro school, but apparently it was not done until 1929. Struggs indicated that there were only three rooms on the school when he came in 1930. Interview with Mr. E. C. Struggs by Robert Foster, April 11, 1969.

[33]An article in the Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, May 13, 1928, indicated Mrs. S. Wilson was a teacher along with Mr. Wilson and Ms. Iles.

common wall was a sliding door to create an assembly room. The outside was pink stucco. The playgrounds were dirt with no equipment.

The curriculum, limited by the lack of teachers and hampered by the large number of students, consisted mostly of the basics--mathematics, English, and history. Attendance was slight in the fall, but began to increase toward the end of the harvest season.[34]

A major milestone in the history of early educational attempts occurred in May, 1928, when Dunbar held its first graduating exercises. Two girls, Alma Zora Williams and Lena Marie Robinson, and three boys, James Roy Lewis, Burton Garfield McCutcheon, and Elmo Robinson were the first graduates of Dunbar High School. Burton McCutcheon was the president of the class and Lena Robinson was the class secretary.[35]

The Dunbar school was not accredited by the Southern Association of Secondary Schools at that time. The curriculum was not adequate, and the school only taught through ten grades. Accreditation did not come until 1937.[36]
With the growth of the Negro population continuing into the

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[34]Interview with Maggie Tatum, April 24, 1969; E. C. Struggs, April 11, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[35]Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, May 13, 1928.

[36]Mr. E. C. Struggs to Robert Foster, April 17, 1969, in a telephone interview.

1930's, it finally became apparent to the school board that the existing facility at 17th Street and Avenue B was inadequate. However, the board had some difficulty in deciding what would be the most feasible expansion plan. Finances were a very serious consideration due to the economic depression.

In 1931, the question of a Negro high school had been brought before the board and it asked A. C. Jackson, the business manager, to investigate the possibility of acquiring state aid. Jackson conferred with the State Department of Education as to the possibility of funding from the Rosewald Fund.[37] While this was unsuccessful, Jackson was, later that year, asked to get plans from the state for a four room Negro school and to get estimates on an addition to the present building.[38] Shortly, Jackson was directed to prepare plans for a two room addition to the Negro School.[39]

The Board took no action at this time and in 1933, Charles Deo, W. M. Sedberry, J. J. Jameson, and two women asked the school board to consider a certified Negro high school. Their argument included the fact that there were

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[37] Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, May 26, 1931.

[38] Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, April 28, 1931, and May 26, 1931.

[39] Ibid., June 30, 1931.

over 280 Negro children in the city and forty to fifty of these could be in high school. Following this request, the school board appointed a committee to investigate what would be needed for affiliation.[40] The committee drew up tentative plans for an addition to the present school and these were submitted to the State High School Supervisor in Austin for comment.[41] However, the matter was deferred until the next summer.[42]

During June of 1934, plans and specifications were prepared for the addition to the existing school, but the board again failed to act. In 1935, the issue again surfaced and the board authorized arrangements for a four room addition to the existing school.[43] The board had voted to purchase land in Block 28 of the Wheelock Second Addition located at East Avenue D and 22nd Street at a cost of $250.00.[44] Before the work was approved, the building committee proposed that the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works be contacted.[45] A P. W. A. grant was

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[40] Ibid., September 6, 1933; Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, September 10, 1933.

[41] Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, September 26, 1933.

[42] Ibid., December 20, 1933.

[43] Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meetings, June 27, July 20, July 31, 1934; March 26 and May 28, 1935.

[44] Ibid., October 29, 1935.

[45] Ibid., June 25, 1935.

secured in the amount of $22,000 for the Negro High School and other projects.[46] An additional grant from the Works Progress Administration was obtained,[47] and the building was finally completed in 1936.

The building contained four classrooms and a large study hall, in addition to facilities to teach cooking, sewing, chemistry, and wood and metal work in a shop with three lathes. The building, upon completion, was considered the most modern black education facility west of Fort Worth, except for those in Wichita Falls and El Paso.[48] After a long struggle, the blacks had an educational system which, while certainly not equal to that of the whites, would better provide an environment to educate their children.

Dunbar was fortunate to get the new building but good fortune in other forms started long before that. A good educational system is built around its people and the black community was particularly blessed with at least three standouts--Ella Carruthers (Iles), E. C. Struggs, and his wife, Lillian Struggs. Each of these pioneers to black education in Lubbock left their mark upon the facilities, the system, and the students.

When Miss Carruthers began teaching at the school,

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[46] Ibid., October 10, 1935.

[47] Ibid., November 19, 1935.

[48] Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, September 13, 1936.

the conditions must have been deplorable. Initially, she had to teach with no building, and after getting a building, such as it was, the size of the classes presented problems. Teaching all levels confronted her with all those problems that early educators of the "one room school" encountered. Undoubtedly devoted to her profession, she taught in the Lubbock Schools until 1952.

E. C. Struggs and his wife Lillian came to Lubbock in 1930 from Milam County, Texas. Both were instrumental in earning new stature for the black school. Mrs. Struggs taught part-time until 1933, for a salary of $375.[49] She also taught music and was active in community programs.[50] Mr. Struggs gained the respect and acceptance of the white community and provided excellent leadership for the black school.[51]

An important part of school and community activities for black Lubbock were sporting events. Dunbar athletic teams got a start in 1931. The young men of the high school went to Struggs and requested they form a football team,

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[49] Minutes, Lubbock School Board Meeting, March 31, 1933.

[50] Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, April 30, 1939; Lubbock Morning Avalanche, May 21, 1937; Mr. Charlie Guy to Robert Foster, May 2, 1969.

[51] Interviews with Mr. Charlie Guy, May 2, 1969; Mr. H. D. Woods, April 1, 1969; Dean W. L. Stangel, April 17, 1969, by Robert Foster.

primarily because the other area schools were playing the game. Obviously the black school did not have a budget for athletic equipment, so Struggs went to the white schools to obtain discarded or old equipment. Pete Cawthorn of Texas Tech was the most obliging and almost every year, he donated some equipment. Struggs coached the boys some, but Charles Sedberry spent most of his time as the "unofficial" coach. The team named themselves the Black Panthers, and with Sedberry's assistance, they played such teams as San Angelo, Abilene, Amarillo, and even Frederick, Oklahoma. Generally, it was late November or early December before they could schedule football games, due to the harvest season, and then only twelve to fifteen boys would participate.[52] One game between Dunbar and Amarillo raised enough money to provide funds to purchase the first clock for Texas Tech football games.[53] Whites were invited to attend the black games, and a special seating area was provided for those who did.[54]

The black community obtained a school system in Lubbock with little help and certainly no real

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[52]Interviews with E. C. Struggs, April 11, 1969; Charles Sedberry, April 8, 1969; Mr. Oscar Iles, March 24, 1969; Mr. D. H. Hill, April 21, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[53]Interviews with Mr. D. H. Hill, April 21, 1969; Mr. E. C. Struggs, April 11, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[54]_Lubbock Avalanche-Journal_, December 27, 1931.

encouragement. It is a tribute to the early blacks of the community that they were determined enough to persist until they had educational facilities. Since the attitude of the whites rendered the idea of a black attending a white school out of the question, the blacks realized they must depend on a school of their own, no matter now inferior. While yielding to the attitude of the era, blacks, without offending the white community, persisted toward improving what they had.

CHAPTER IV

THE MATURE COMMUNITY

The decade of the 1930's saw continuing growth for Lubbock and its black community. The total population of the city had grown to 20,520 by 1930, and the black population was 1,100.[1] More detailed census data provides some interesting insights into the employment status for blacks. Of the total black population, 936 were gainfully employed, 588 males and 368 males. Industry groups employing significant numbers of black males were agriculture, 151; hotels, restaurants, and boarding houses, 83; steam and street railroads, 38; wholesale and retail, except automobiles, 20; garages, grease stations, 17; domestic and personal service, other than hotels, laundries, etc., 84; and nonspecified industry, 76. Of the 368 females, 293 were reported as other domestic and personal service, and 51 worked for hotels, restaurants, and boarding houses.[2] In all of Lubbock County, there were 1,677 blacks and a total

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[1]U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, _Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930_: Volume III, Part 2, p. 973.

[2]_Ibid._, p. 1043.

population of 39,104.[3] It is significant that while almost half of the white population lived outside the city limits of Lubbock, only about one-third of the blacks resided outside the city. Over 11,000 of the whites were classified as being part of rural families, or living on farms, but only about 400 of the blacks fell into this category.[4]

It was apparent by 1930 that the black community was stabilizing into a more permanent and developed segment of the city. The churches had continued to grow and the educational system, while still pitiful compared to its white counterpart, was improving. Employment was becoming more diversified and the physical bounds of the "flats" were changing. In spite of the economic setback of the decade, the 1930's were the years that the black community matured and became a viable appendage to the city.

The growth of the black population led to the development of the second black geographical area in Lubbock, the Wheelock Second Addition, southeast of the original "flats" area. That section represented a growth direction without hindrance from the existing white commercial and residential population. Bounded otherwise by Avenue A on the west and 19th Street on the north, the black population moved out from the area initially

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[3]Ibid., p. 1071.

[4]Ibid., Volume IV, Families, p. 1311.

considered the black portion of the city.

While there was some earlier purchase activity in the Wheelock Addition, most observers remember that Jess McKnight was the first black to move permanently into the area about 1926. He constructed a frame and covered it with a tent. The area began to gain in population toward the latter part of the decade, and during the 1930's, the growth was steady to the southeast. By 1939, some parts of six blocks east and five blocks south had been purchased. A two block section near the center of the addition was deeded to the Lubbock Independent School District in 1929.[5]

As in the earlier Avenue A area of black Lubbock, subsistence was meager in the new section. There were no utilities, such as water, sewers, gas, or electricity in the new addition. Water was provided by a windmill in the vicinity, and heat and light were obtained through the use coal and coal oil. Sewerage was in the form of pit toilets

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[5]Lubbock Abstract Company, Abstract Volumes, Wheelock Second Addition; Lubbock City Directories, 1930-39. Interview with Mr. Charles Sedberry by Robert Foster on April 8, 1969. The earliest activity found in searching the abstract records were in Block 1, Wheelock Second Addition, Lots 4, 5, and 6. These were deeded from S. L. Gentry to J. W. Graves, July 6, 1920, but there is no indication that a house was built. In 1923, Lots 7, 8, and 9, and Lot 12 were purchased by a person named Schowalter and by a Silas Love, respectively, but, again, there was no indication of construction.

or privies.[6] In 1925, a typical lot, 50' x 140' (larger than the lots in the Avenue A section), cost approximately sixty dollars, but by 1929, the cost was as high as $250.[7]

Some of the early settlers of this addition were McKnight, E. C. Struggs, John and D. C. Fair, Waymon Henry, Oscar Iles, Charles Sedberry, James Craven, Carlton Priestly, and Ben Shields. While the area maintained a constant and steady growth pattern, it was after World War II that rapid growth took place.[8]

The glorious decade of the 1920's ended on a very gloomy note following the stock market crash of October, 1929. That happening issued an omen for what was to come in the early 1930's. While the Great Depression had devastating economic impacts on various parts of the nation, some segments of society, especially the urban industrial centers, felt the depression more than others. In the rural regions the economic squeeze was not as pronounced, but most certainly did not go unnoticed. The federal government issued a warning to cotton farmers in 1930 that their crops should be diversified to include feed

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[6]Interviews with Mr. D. C. Fair, March 28, 1969; Ms. Irby Whitfield, March 27, 1969; Ms. J. M. Robertson, March 28, 1969; Mr. James Craven, March 27, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[7]Interviews with Mr. D. C. Fair, March 28, 1969; Mr. James Craven, March 27, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[8]Interviews with Mr. E. C. Struggs, April 11, 1969; Ms. J. M. Robertson, March 28, 1969, by Robert Foster.

crops, dairy cattle and poultry--cotton should not be the primary crop.[9] Yet that warning also included the acknowledgment that the South Plains' financial position was not as critical as other agricultural areas, perhaps because of the stability of the cotton industry.

The severity of the depression on the South Plains has been recalled by observers as varying from one extreme of great deprivation to another of hardly any impact on the community.[10] To indicate there was hardly any impact on the city would be naive, but generally, the depression apparently did not significantly alter the basic life-styles of the majority of whites and blacks, for theirs was a simple existence from the start. However, there were serious situations in the community that created hardships for most segments of the local society.

Lubbock's first problem as a result of the depression grew from a rising rate of unemployment. Concern

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[9] Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, March 9, 1930.

[10] Interviews with Mr. Oscar Iles, March 24, 1969, and Mr. Charlie Guy, May 2, 1969, by Robert Foster. While Iles indicated the depression had a very devastating effect on the community, Guy related a story that would seem contradictory. Guy reported that every paper in the country carried the story of Levines Department Store sale. So many people came that the store would allow a group in, then lock the front door and take care of their needs. When finished with that group, they let another group in. During the depression, it is not surprising that such an occurrence would be front page news.

with this situation was manifested by a newspaper article in December, 1930, that indicated the city was beginning a campaign to alleviate unemployment, or at least provide some sort of employment until the warmer months.[11] In January of the following year, the City Commission voted $500 to assist the local relief group and stated that they would create as much work as possible, but that they would provide jobs for only those recommended by the charitable organizations.[12]

That same month the paper carried an article indicating that competition for even poor jobs had become fierce. A local road contractor had been charged with "discrimination" against local white laborers by using a large number of Negro workmen. It was revealed that the construction company used sixteen white men and had only five Negroes--the five had been with the company for several years. However, the story went on, the firm anticipated using more laborers in the future, and assured the citizens of Lubbock that local labor would be used.[13]

In July, 1931, the Lubbock Unemployment Council urged farmers to employ local men to assist in clearing

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[11] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, December 27, 1930.

[12] Winifred W. Vigness, "Municipal Government in Lubbock," A History of Lubbock, p. 359.

[13] Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, January 11, 1931.

weeds from their fields at the rate of 75¢ per day. Payment in cash was not necessary, the Council held, but an equivalent in produce would suffice. Approximately 200 men came to the Council office each day to seek employment.[14] It was only six months later that the unemployment situation was assisted somewhat by the federal government's providing funds locally through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Local unemployed persons registered with the City-County Welfare Association and were given jobs cleaning the city dump, streets, alleys, and parks. Initially only about 100 persons sought work, but this number grew very quickly to approximately 300. The paper stated that employment through the R. F. C. was limited to those without a job, who had lived in Lubbock County for at least one year, had dependents, and could find no other employment.[15]

Other New Deal agencies assisted the city in lessening the unemployment problem. The Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps both contributed by providing employment. In the waning years

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[14] _Lubbock Morning Avalanche_, July 12, 1932.

[15] _Lubbock Avalanche-Journal_, December 11, 1932; _Lubbock Morning Avalanche_, December 21, 1932. The author could find no evidence that blacks were not employed through this organization. Some of those interviewed indicated there was no discrimination against blacks. Interviews with Mr. Vernice Ford, April 15, 1969; Mr. George Eubank, April 16, 1969, by Robert Foster.

of the depression, the numbers of jobs provided grew substantially from that first 100. In 1935, the C. C. C. assisted over 200 persons and by 1937, the W. P. A. assisted by providing over 3,000 jobs in Lubbock.[16] Unemployment was a problem which effected both blacks and whites to some extent.

One observer of the depression years in Lubbock indicated that the economic squeeze had very little effect on the black community. People already lived in tents, paper houses, and dugouts, and nobody was laid off their jobs. Most of the steady jobs held were the low-paying, menial tasks that provided for the bare necessities. Most of the black residents depended on seasonal farm work.[17]

There existed two situations on the South Plains, however, that indicated life during the depression years was not pleasant for everyone. In the latter part of 1936 and early 1937, the paper carried articles dealing with the development of a "shacktown" in the northeastern portion of the city. These families had lost their homes as a result of unemployment and constructed several dozen shacks of cardboard, tin, and packing boxes. The indigent residents lived on very meager incomes and their existence

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[16] Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, July 14, 1935; July 11, 1937.

[17] Interview with Mr. Charles Sedberry on April 8, 1969 by Robert Foster.

there created a health hazard to the city. Eventually the area was condemned and the houses were destroyed. Various organizations such as the Salvation Army, the City Commission, and the Church Women's Federation, helped relocate the residents.[18]

In the spring of 1938, over 300 black migrant farm workers were found stranded near Morton, Texas, without food, money, or transportation. During the winter months six or seven of the men had died from disease and exposure. Others were in need of medical attention. The white employers had failed to make good their promise of return transportation for the workers. While this isolated group was an exception, their plight did indicate that these years were extremely difficult years. The City of Lubbock raised several hundred pounds of foot stuff to relieve the suffering of the workers.[19]

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[18] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, December 23, 1936; January 8, 10, 15, June 1, 1937. No evidence was found that there were any blacks living in "shacktown." The newspaper did indicate the children of the area attended the Sanders school which would mean there were no black children. Lubbock Morning Avalanche, January 8, 1937. It seems a bit ironic that the deplorable conditions of "shacktown" could describe the black section of town, yet there was no great social outcry to change that situation.

[19] Neil Gary Sapper, "A Survey of the History of the Black People of Texas, 1930-1954" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1972), pp. 180-81.

The charitable attitude of Lubbock had been demonstrated several years earlier through the organization of the United Charities, a loose knit organization of several agencies in the city to coordinate local relief activities. In 1931, it was reported that for the first five months, over 1,240 families had been given assistance. However, only sixteen Negro families and 143 Mexican-American families were aided. Providing employment was a part of the program and as an example, in March 1931, 960 whites, 209 Mexican-Americans, and 105 Negroes were given some form of relief assistance.[20]

The black community sought to deal with its problems, also. In January, 1931, Mt. Gilead Baptist Church provided seventy-two meals to needy blacks during one week. The free counter served noon meals but planned to also include the evening meal the following week. The group, headed by the pastor of the church, S. H. Winston, also were actively seeking jobs for Negroes. One job was found for a woman, and two other persons were provided transportation to jobs outside the city. Those assisting in this effort included Rosa Johnson, W. H. Owens, J. Lewis, George Stewart, Alice Thomas, Guy Cefres, A. Z. Williams, and Ida Stafford. Winston had personally given twenty per cent of his weekly

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[20] Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, July 5, 1931.

earning toward the cause.[21]

By February, the blacks organized the Colored Relief Association, and, in cooperation with the United Charities, attempted to further provide relief to deserving Negroes. They expressed the hope of establishing a soup line at Guy Cefres' cafe at 1616 Avenue A which was also to serve as the general dispensary. The association planned to solicit funds only from the blacks for their support, but the United Charities would continue to provide food and clothing. C. H. Hamilton, pastor of a Negro Methodist church, served as chairman of the association with S. H. Winston, John McDonald, C. J. Jones, and W. M. Wilson serving on the advisory board.[22] No other activities by the Colored Relief Association were noted in the local newspaper, so it is impossible to evaluate its efforts.

It would seem that the low point for blacks in Lubbock occurred during the period of late 1930 and early 1931. Cooperation among the various relief agencies was apparent, and while the amount of assistance obviously was not in proportion to the ratio of population mix, the black community was not totally neglected by the whites. While cooperation remained limited, tension between the

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[21] _Ibid._, January 7, 1931.

[22] _Lubbock Avalanche-Journal_, February 1, 1931. Ms. Maggie Tatum indicated in an interview by Robert Foster on April 24, 1969, that some whites were fed in that soup line.

two communities did not grow. There was only one overt act of racially oriented violence during the depression years. A white man beat a Negro with a stick at the relief headquarters.[23]

While jobs were not plentiful for blacks and wages were low, blacks generally found work to earn enough money to provide for the basics. Lottie Pinkston related that her grocery business did not suffer during the depression, and she did not remember a significant increase in credit business or unpaid debts. The blacks were accustomed to low-paying tasks and jobs of that nature were usually available. Those employed by the school had their pay checks discounted by five to ten per cent at the local bank, but the whites were given the same treatment. Many companies (and the city government) reduced salaries by as much as ten per cent.[24]

In spite of the hard times, the black population was increasing and the residential area was expanding.

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[23]Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, June 23, 1935. The paper reported that the white man was provoked by the Negro, Ben Umnson, when the black crowded into line. Umnson required medical attention, but the exact nature of his injuries were not recorded.

[24]Interviews with Mr. D. C. Fair, March 28, 1969; Ms. Waymon Henry, March 29, 1969; Ms. J. M. Robertson, March 28, 1969; Mr. E. C. Struggs, April 11, 1969; Ms. Lottie Pinkston, April 11, 1969; Ms. Ada Graves, April 8, 1969; Mr. H. D. Woods, April 1, 1969, by Robert Foster.

Black commercial business activity was also increasing in the 1930's. In 1930, there were two barber shops, one hotel, and five restaurants to be found in the Avenue A section of town. By 1935, the section had four barber shops, one cleaners, one dentist, one hotel, two grocers, one laundry, one funeral home, one physician, five restaurants, one tailor, and one taxi company. By 1939, the blacks could boast of an automobile repair shop, one service station, two barbers, one cleaners, one physician, one funeral home, one hotel, four grocers, one dentist, and eight restaurants. While the quantity and quality were not overwhelming, they do represent a significant advancement in the black community.[25]

One unusual commercial business flourished during the early 1930's. James Craven and his brother-in-law, Delmus Banks, started a taxi service in the black community. His first car was a Model-T Ford, purchased locally from Benson Ford. He charged fifty cents as a normal fare, but some of his business was transporting salesmen to surrounding towns from the train station, and these rates varied. Eventually, Craven had three taxis in operation. During the depression years, the city provided some of his gasoline in return for his efforts in transporting

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[25] Lubbock City Directory, 1930 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Co., 1929), pp. 498-574; Lubbock City Directory, 1935, pp. 423-77; Lubbock City Directory, 1939, pp. 586-654.

relief foodstuffs to several families.[26]

Perhaps an early milestone in the maturation process of the black community was the coming of the first black doctor, Dr. Joel P. Oliver, in 1932. Oliver had attended medical school in Nashville, Tennessee, and was in his late twenties or early thirties when he arrived. His first office was in the 1600 block of Avenue A. He used an old cafe building and put in some beds to create a makeshift hospital.[27] While not admitted to the local medical society, Oliver purportedly was a good surgeon and worked closely with a local white doctor, Dr. Olan Key, at West Texas Hospital. Oliver had a number of white patients whom he saw on a regular basis.[28]

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[26]Interview with Mr. James Craven by Robert Foster, March 27, 1969.

[27]Interview with Mr. Oscar Iles by Robert Foster, March 24, 1969.

[28]Interview with Mr. Charlie Guy by Robert Foster, May 2, 1969. Perhaps Oliver will be remembered for reasons other than his abilities as a medical doctor. It was speculated that a preponderance of his white patients were women seeking abortions rather than the healing hands of a competent physician. Interview with Mr. Charlie Guy by Robert Foster, May 2, 1969.

Oliver's first wife, Francis, apparently was a very pretty woman, and was remembered by some as light in color--light enough to pass for white. However, that marriage ended in divorce, and his second marriage became perhaps Lubbock's first mixed marriage, when Oliver and Wilma Baker, a white woman, were married in New Mexico. They returned to Lubbock just long enough to pack two cars and set out for Chicago. While passing through Louisville, Kentucky, both were arrested for double parking. At the time, they were carrying four pistols and $4,000--the money

Two other prominent black professional men came to Lubbock during the 1930's. Dr. C. H. Lyons, a dentist, came in 1933. His coming was perhaps influenced by Dr. Oliver. They had previously known each other, and they shared the same building on Avenue A for a few years. In 1939, Dr, J. A. Chatman came to Lubbock shortly after Dr. Oliver left. His practice began from an office in the 1800 block of Avenue A.[29]

As the black population increased in numbers, the local police department gave consideration to the hiring of a black policeman for that section of the city. The first may have been Milton Blanford, but it is uncertain when he was officially hired. Unfortunately Blanford

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to have been used for a medical course at a Chicago hospital. The local paper reported that the doctor did have some white patients in the Lubbock area and a plane at the Lubbock Airport. Subsequent stories had the two involved in such illicit activities as narcotics and prostitution.

Unfortunately, the author could find no other information as to how the predicament in Louisville was finally resolved. Lubbock Morning Avalanche, January 27, 1939; Interviews with Ms. Irby Whitfield, March 27, 1969; Mr. Oscar Iles, March 24, 1969; Mr. James Craven, March 27, 1969; Mr. Charlie Guy, May 2, 1969; Mr. George Woods, April 9, 1969; Mr. Vernice Ford, April 15, 1969; Ms. J. M. Robertson, March 28, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[29]Interviews with Ms. J. M. Robertson, March 28, 1969; Mr. Charlie Guy, May 2, 1969, by Robert Foster. Dr. Chatman's impact on the black and white segments of Lubbock were significant. While beyond the scope of this study, Dr. Chatman's role in black history in Lubbock deserves special recognition.

lost his job through the indiscreet use of his pistol.[30] Subsequent to Blanford losing his job, Dr. Oliver and Dr. Lyons appeared before the City Commission requesting the appointment of another Negro Policeman.[31] At least two other men were appointed at one time or another during the 1930's--Leonard "Catface" Means and Johnnie Brooks. Both were involved in shooting incidents, and both lost their jobs.[32]

The black policemen did work under certain handicaps. They could not arrest a white person, and even if a black was arrested, a phone call downtown was necessary to have some white officers come pick up the prisoner. The black policemen had the reputation of being very tough on their fellow blacks. Perhaps that reputation stemmed

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[30]In November, 1933, Blanford shot another Negro, Paul Quinn. That action was reviewed by a grand jury, but the final disposition of the case is unknown. Apparently, the case was never brought to trial. Lubbock Morning Avalanche, November 11, 1933; Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, November 12, 1933.

In an interview on April 9, 1969, Mr. George Woods thought he remembered a man named Coleman and one named Lewis that were policemen before Blanford. This was never substantiated by surviving city records.

[31]Minutes, Lubbock City Commission, September 27, 1934.

[32]Lubbock Morning Avalanche, June 15, 1937; October 5, 1937; November 17, 1937; Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, October 17, 1937.

from the various shooting incidents.[33]

Social and recreational activities for the black community in the depression decade were diverse in nature, but were almost always exclusively sponsored and promoted by the blacks themselves. Perhaps the social event of the year and the one event eagerly anticipated each year was the Emancipation Day celebration of June 19th. Popularly called "Juneteenth" by whites and blacks alike, the day long celebration generally consisted of a bar-b-que or picnic, a dance, speeches, and perhaps a baseball game. It was a traditional celebration and holiday, recognized by the white employers.[34]

The Negroes also formed their own baseball team called the Black Hubbers. The team was formed during the late 1920's by Bob and Earl Johnson and they had their uniforms donated by various white merchants. The Black Hubbers enjoyed the reputation as a quality team giving good competition almost every year. Often the Black Hubbers would play the white baseball team, the Lubbock Hubbers, and those games were well attended by both whites

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[33] Interviews with Mr. George Eubank, April 16, 1969; Mr. Ben Shields, April 22, 1969; Mr. Charlie Guy, May 2, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[34] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, June 19, 1929; June 19, 1930; June 21, 1932; June 20, 1933; June 21, 1933; June 20, 1934; June 20, 1935; June 19, 1936; June 16, 1937; June 19, 1937; and June 17, 1938.

and blacks. It was not unusual for the black team to beat the white Hubbers when they played. The black fans generally had to sit in the outfield bleachers, while the white fans sat in the grandstands. All home games for the black team were scheduled at Merrill Park, 21st Street and Avenue B. Some of the names associated with the Black Hubbers as players and organizers were Charles Sedberry, James Lewis, A. T. Brown, Dr. Oliver, and Oscar Iles.[35]

Another source of recreation for the black community came with the opening of Booker T. Washington Park in 1929. In the early years, it was not the model park with trees, shrubs, and landscaping, but it provided a central place where blacks could enjoy some outdoor activities.[36]

There were various other social activities during the 1930's which provided entertainment for the black community, such as Negro style shows, an African musical drama, charity Christmas parties, and various Negro

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[35] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, July 10, 1931; June 19, 1937; June 20, 1937; Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, August 7, 1932; August 28, 1932; September 24, 1933; Interviews with Mr. Oscar Iles, March 24, 1969; Mr. A. L. Vaughn, March 25, 1969; Mr. James Craven, March 27, 1969; Mr. Vernice Ford, April 15, 1969; Mr. Charles Sedberry, April 8, 1969; Mr. Carlton Priestly, April 9, 1969; and Mr. George Eubank, April 16, 1969, by Robert Foster.

[36] Interview with Mr. H. D. Woods on April 1, 1969, by Robert Foster.

singing groups. While the functions were not important individually, they did indicate the growing diversity of activities normally associated with a growing community.[37] Many of these activities took place at one of the several churches in the black community, and the church remained as an important focal point for social functions.

On November 3, 1938, two Negro groups filed applications for the formation of Boy Scout Troops in Lubbock. One troop was sponsored by the Parent-Teachers Association of Dunbar School and the other by a "Group of Citizens."

Troop 18, sponsored by a "Group of Citizens," had Charles Sedberry acting as scoutmaster; Henry D. Patterson, assistant scoutmaster; D. Hill, chairman; and troop committeemen, John Fair and Maynor Ward. The first boys in the troop were Clentell Childress, James Craven, Eddie Harris, James Hastings, Robert Hastings, Harold Johns, William Johnson, Charles Sedberry, D. Lee Allen, and Charles J. Johnson. Troop 19, sponsored by the Parent-Teachers Association, had Perry Jackson as its scoutmaster; C. A. Henderson, Chairman; S. W. Hick, assistant scoutmaster; and two troop committeemen, C. B. Banks and D. C. Fair. The first members were Altus Bracey, C. C. Cruze,

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[37] Lubbock Morning Avalanche, April 5, 1930; January 6, 1931; November 9, 1934; December 13, 1934; July 20, 1934; March 27, 1935; Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, August 31, 1931; May 31, 1936.

David Crockett Fair, Jr., Eugene Lawson, Roger Priestly, Sam Scott, Norris Ward, and Jake White. All of the boys in both troops had no previous experience, had no uniforms, and held the rank of tenderfoot.[38]

Notwithstanding the progress and growth of the Negro community in the 1930's, there were reminders of the white attitude and the reminders sometimes appeared in subtle ways. For instance, a parade was held in Lubbock to conclude Boy's Week and prizes were offered in several categories. With an obvious effort toward humor, some typical categories were the boy leading the greatest number of dogs tied to one rope, the boy riding the best dressed cow, the boy leading the largest rooster, the boy having the most freckles, etc. Also included were categories entitled the Negro boy having the largest feet, the largest mouth, the most comical Negro boy, and the two boys best representing Amos and Andy.[39]

By 1940, the total population of Lubbock had grown to 31,853, while the black population had increased to 2,229.[40] While a detailed employment breakdown for blacks

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[38]Boy Scouts of America, South Plains Council office, Lubbock, Texas, File #119.

[39]Lubbock Morning Avalanche, May 6, 1933.

[40]U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940: Volume II, Part 6, p. 1008.

is unavailable, there were eighteen professional workers, fifty-one farmers and farm laborers, four clerical workers, seven proprietors, and nineteen craftsmen. The domestic and general service workers numbered 696, of whom 260 were men and 436 were women.[41] Perhaps the "take-off" in South Plains agriculture which occurred in the late 1930's explain the rather sizable increase in the black population.

The decade of the 1930's was characterized by steady growth and community improvement. While it would be left to later years for the black community to approach equality with the white community, the foundation on which later generations could build was implanted.

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 893.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

While blacks on the South Plains perhaps can be traced to Estevancio in the early 1500's, the history of South Plains Negroes is relatively recent. Blacks were instrumental in the settlement of the region. Their expertise as soldiers helped to provide a safer place into which the settlers could migrate. And once the area was settled, the black cowboy was present to be a part of the vast ranching industry that developed in Northwest Texas. Apparently, only a few blacks were in the avant-garde of a new wave of agrarian settlers at the turn of the twentieth century. Notwithstanding the presence of a handfull of blacks in Lubbock County in the 1890's, black settlement really began with the need for a labor force in the late 1910's.

As the cotton interest grew and developed, the need for a large labor force to harvest the crops necessitated a change of attitude for the whites. The early settlers on the South Plains were committed to the proposition that this should be a "white man's country." As it became evident that blacks were the expedient solution to the labor problem and thus would have to stay on the

plains, the white attitude of hostility was replaced by a measure of tolerance and indifference. Blacks became a segment of the population that should be controlled, not accepted. Separate facilities, attempts at residential restriction, and other forms of discrimination all manifested this concern over control of the black population.

The first black settlers in Lubbock were primarily a transient people seeking work in a migrant labor force. For a variety of reasons some of them chose to stay in Lubbock--perhaps it was lack of funds to return to East Texas, or perhaps the choice of staying was more pleasant than that of returning far to the southeast. Those that did stay, and their numbers were small in the beginning, were content to improve their lot slowly.

The black settlers of Lubbock were of hardy stock. They developed a separate black community in the pattern of the whites, in spite of the prevailing white attitudes. Very soon after a number of blacks had begun to settle, churches were founded and efforts were made to gain a black school system. Steadily, blacks developed a community that spawned commercial businesses, social orders, churches, schools, and later, men that would be leaders of and spokesmen for the black community.

The development of the black community was characterized by a pervading spirit of cooperation among its

residents. In spite of a lack of strong leadership during the first twenty years, the black community grew. It seems that each new problem or request would germinate a new group of spokesmen. While not neglecting the possibility of apathy on the part of many residents, it seems that the person or group that sponsored an idea or project to improve their lot got the cooperation of the rest of the black community.

The entire evolvement of the black community and its institutions happened because of blacks and their insistence on a better life. There was very little white influence or assistance in the development of the black community. The patience with which this was accomplished obviated any overt conflict with the whites and enabled blacks to peacefully, if slowly, to achieve their goal.

By 1940, the black community was still very young by most standards, but a sound, firm foundation was in place on which later generations could better seek equality in the white man's world.

APPENDIX 1

ORDINANCE NO. [PENCILED "223"]

An Ordinance prescribing that portion of the City of Lubbock within which negroes and persons of African descent, containing as much as one-eighth negro blood, shall reside, except bona fide servants residing on the place where employed; forbidding persons to sell property outside of such district to negroes or persons containing as much as one eighth negro blood; forbidding the rental of property outside such district to persons containing as much as one-eighth negro blood, providing penalties and declaring an emergency account of negroes living in other districts and causing danger to health and pollution of the atmosphere.

Be it ordained by the City Council [Commission] of the City of Lubbock, Texas.

Section 1.

No negro or persons of African descent or containing as much as one-eighth negro blood shall own property or reside thereon in any part of this city except that part lying South of 16th St. and East of Avenue C, and no person shall rent or lease to any such negro or person of African descent or one containing as much as one-eighth negro blood outside of the territory limits, as above,

Section 2.

Section 1 shall not apply to bona fide servants living on the premises of their employer; provided that such servant or servants shall receive living quarters as a part of their compensation and that such servants shall be employed the major portion of their time by the family or person on whose premises they reside.

Section 3.

Any person violating any part of this Ordinance shall upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not more

than $200 and each transaction or days residence shall constitute a separate offense.

Section 4.

The fact that negroes and persons of African descent and persons containing as much as one-eighth negro blood are residing in various portions of this city and their residents is dangerous to the health and pollutes the earth and atmosphere, creates an emergency and necessity that the removal of the charter requiring an ordinance to be read at two several meetings be suspended and this ordinance been acted at the meeting of its introduction and effective upon publication.

Approved this "8" day of "March" 1923.

/s/ Percy Spencer
Mayor.
City of Lubbock, Texas.

Attest:

/s/ J. R. Germany
City Secretary
City of Lubbock, Texas.

Approved as to form. R. A. Sowder, City Attorney.

This is a copy of the Ordinance found in the Ordinance File at City Hall, Lubbock.

APPENDIX 2

NUMBERS OF SCHOLASTICS

(Whites/Blacks)

Years	Lubbock	Wichita Falls	Abilene	Amarillo	San Angelo
1900-01	135/0	453/26	784/30	572/1	1483/37
1901-02	179/0	514/33	825/29	587/0	1483/43
1902-03	227/0	522/28	815/26	854/0	1734/94
1903-04	272/9	527/28	865/35	918/0	1768/97
1904-05	253/0	577/31	925/31	990/0	955/100
1905-06	271/0	601/32	917/78	773/0	1025/103
1906-07	327/0	717/31	1195/79	912/0	1217/110
1907-08	171/0	853/45	1349/94	1102/0	1474/91
1908-09	226/9	1045/65	1354/106	1313/0	1651/98
1909-10	325/0	1333/89	1598/130	1486/0	1727/109
	(Records unavailable from 1910 to 1917.)				
1917-18	1185/1	3080/205	1982/103	2287/43	2349/135
1918-19	1073/12	3338/217	1741/103	2675/43	2094/121
1919-20	927/8	4041/287	2311/94	2801/42	1831/108
1920-21	1302/18	5266/525	2604/100	2877/39	2097/120
1921-22	1445/15	5391/510	2861/154	2985/33	2131/127
1922-23	4534/47	5933/562	7091/178	3708/51	3681/131
1923/24	2032/47	6014/506	3422/195	4052/55	2118/119
1924-25	2733/95	6304/586	3603/243	4311/69	2182/109

Page 2 of Appendix 2.

Years	Lubbock	Wichita Falls	Abilene	Amarillo	San Angelo
1925-26	3555/160	8462/867	4361/315	5130/104	2810/127
1926-27	3408/285	9278/1139	4796/473	7171/118	3115/163
1928-29	3937/168	9142/1141	5033/602	7459/190	4140/205
1929-30	4876/226	8999/1165	5161/657	7514/166	4275/220
1930-31	5466/227	9735/1228	5312/500	9297/208	4990/254
1931-32	5017/276	9458/1203	5003/520	9741/217	4647/260
1932-33	5148/292	8895/1228	4805/504	9593/246	4519/262
1933-34	5490/304	8834/1119	4838/534	9124/230	4583/251
1934-35	5134/249	9398/1072	5029/514	9277/246	4806/274
1935-36	5185/274	9591/1016	5185/521	9507/249	4898/284
1936-37	5261/266	9604/1041	5392/488	9256/283	4918/281
1937-38	5348/315	9454/1031	5319/478	9396/284	4925/288
1938-39	5885/419	9561/1062	5343/462	9559/294	5108/344
1939-40	6388/488	9788/1077	5272/449	9581/300	5073/317

This appendix was compiled from the Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the years beginning from the Thirteenth Biennial Report for 1901-1902 and continuing through the Thirty-first Report for the years 1938-1939 and 1939-1940.

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Mr. James Craven by Robert Foster on March 27, 1969, at 2101 Date Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. George Eubank by Robert Foster on April 16, 1969, at his office in the Lubbock County Courthouse, Engineering and Planning Department, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. David Crockett Fair by Robert Foster on April 28, 1969, at 2109 Date Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mrs. John Fair by Robert Foster on March 28, 1969, at 1508 Quirt Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. Vernice Ford by Robert Foster on April 15, 1969, at his office, 408 19th Street, Lubbock, Texas.

Mrs. Ada Graves by Robert Foster on April 8, 1969, at 2604 Cedar Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. Charlie Guy by Robert Foster on May 2, 1969, in his office at the Lubbock Avalanche Building, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. Waymon Henry by Robert Foster on April 18, 1969, at 2112 Elm Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mrs. Waymon Henry by Robert Foster on March 29, 1969, and April 18, 1969, at 2112 Elm Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. D. H. Hill by Robert Foster on April 21, 1969, at 1831 Manhattan Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. Oscar Iles by Robert Foster on March 25, 1969, at 1615 Avenue C, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. Mack Jamison by Robert Foster on April 10, 1969, at 2606 Ivory Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Miss Ella Lewis by Robert Foster on April 9, 1969, at 1823 Avenue B, Lubbock, Texas.

Mrs. Lottie Pinkston by Robert Foster on April 11, 1969, at 4502 40th Street, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. Carlton Priestly by Robert Foster on April 9, 1969, at 2102 Date Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mrs. J. M. Robertson by Robert Foster on March 28, 1969, at 1701 Avenue A, Lubbock, Texas.

Mrs. Dorothy Rylander by Robert Foster on April 15, 1969, at the Texas Tech University Museum, Lubbock, Texas.

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Mrs. Maggie Tatum by Robert Foster on April 24, 1969, at 2009 Date Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. A. V. Vaughn by Robert Foster on March 25, 1969, at 1326 47th Street, Lubbock, Texas.

Mrs. Irby Whitfield by Robert Foster on March 27, 1969, and May 7, 1969, at 1503 E. 13th Street, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. George Woods by Robert Foster on April 9, 1969, at 2202 Date Avenue, Lubbock, Texas.

Mr. H. D. Woods by Robert Foster on April 1, 1969, at his office, 1607 13th Street, Lubbock, Texas.

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