

TWENTIETH-CENTURY TEXAS

A Social and Cultural History

edited by
John W. Storey
and Mary L. Kelley

University of North Texas Press
Denton, Texas

©2008 University of North Texas Press

All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Permissions:
University of North Texas Press
P.O. Box 311336
Denton, TX 76203-1336

The paper used in this book meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, z39.48.1984. Binding materials have been chosen for durability.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

TO COME

Contents



Acknowledgments.....	v
Introduction	1
1. Manifestations of the Lone Star: The Search for Indian Sovereignty by Gerald Betty	9
2. The Quest for Identity and Citizenship: Mexican Americans in Twentieth-Century Texas by Anthony Quiroz	41
3. The Struggle for Dignity: African Americans in Twentieth-Century Texas by Cary D. Wintz	69
4. From Farm to Future: Women’s Journey Through Twentieth-Century Texas by Angela Boswell	105
5. Pagodas amid the Steeples: The Changing Religious Landscape by John W. Storey.....	135
6. Over Here: Texans on the Home Front by Ralph A. Wooster.....	164
7. From Yellow Roses to Dixie Chicks: Women and Gender in Texas Music History by Gary Hartman	196
8. Goodbye Ol’ Paint, Hello Rapid Transit: Texas Literature in the Twentieth Century by Mark Busby	220

9.	Lone Star Cinema: A Century of Texas in the Movies by Don Graham.....	245
10.	“Wider Than the Limits of Our State”: Texas Art in the Twentieth Century by Michael R. Grauer.....	267
11.	The Games Texans Play by Bill O’Neal	300
12.	Private Wealth, Public Good: Texans and Philanthropy by Mary L. Kelley	324
13.	Public Schools Come of Age By Gene B. Preuss	358
14.	Lone Star Landscape: Texans and Their Environment by Tai Kreidler.....	387
15.	The Second Texas Revolution: From Cotton to Genetics and the Information Age by Kenneth E. Hendrickson and Glenn M. Sanford	417
	Contributors	443

Acknowledgments

An edited volume such as this one is a collaboration among many individuals. We would therefore like to acknowledge those who helped make possible *Twentieth-Century Texas: A Social and Cultural History*. We are particularly indebted to each of the contributors, all of whom are on tight schedules, for lending their expertise to this project and to the University of North Texas Press, especially Ron Chrisman for his support and patience during every stage of the publication process. A special thanks goes to Patty Renfro, administrative associate to the history department at Lamar University, who cheerfully gave her valuable time and capable assistance to help with editing, compiling, and completing the manuscript. Also, we extend our thanks to Professor Carol Atmar, who read and offered insightful advice on many of the essays.

Mary would particularly like to acknowledge Dr. Ben Procter, professor emeritus at Texas Christian University, who has served as a trusted friend, lifelong mentor, and demanding editor who “comforted me when I was afflicted and afflicted me when I was comfortable.” During the formative stage of my career as a historian he taught me the value of constructive criticism, and whatever skills I brought as editor are in large measure due to his influence.

The editors dedicate this book to the next generation of Texans—Chris, Sara, and Shor Kelley and Bailey Katherine Payne.

Introduction



LITERATURE ON TEXAS ABOUNDS. Historians, folklorists, and novelists have seemingly explored the Lone Star State from every imaginable perspective, from the Great Plains to the Alamo to Spindletop, from ranchers and cowboys to wildcatters and oil field roughnecks to timber barons and lumberjacks, from Catholic missionaries to Protestant evangelists to Buddhist monks. Until recently much of this scholarship tended to concentrate on the nineteenth century, the founding period of Texas. For those authors, the state's identity, uniqueness, and relevance to modern life were embedded in the frontier experience and Anglo culture.

Given such a large body of scholarship, another study of Texas seems hardly necessary. What, then, do the authors of this anthology have to offer that has not already been investigated? In terms of political and economic history, very little, if anything! Those topics have been covered quite thoroughly, most recently by Randolph Campbell's outstanding work, *Gone to Texas* (2003), which will likely remain a standard for some years. In terms of social and cultural history, however, they have quite a lot to say, inasmuch as that side of the state's development is often given short shrift, especially the twentieth century. Illustrative here is *Gone to Texas*, which virtually ignores social and cultural matters altogether, and in that respect it is typical of much of the literature about the state. A notable exception is William Ransom Hogan's *The Texas Republic: A Social and Economic History* (1946), a first-rate account that presented a more balanced treatment of the state's past, albeit with

a nineteenth-century bias. In the sixty years since its publication, however, Texas has undergone remarkable change, particularly with regard to race, ethnicity, gender, religion, and the environment.

Most of these topics, to be sure, have been examined to some degree by previous anthologies. *Texas: A Sesquicentennial Celebration* (1984), edited by Donald W. Whisenhunt, as well as *The Texas Heritage* (2003) by Ben Procter and Archie P. McDonald, readily come to mind. Although both are quite good and devote additional attention to the twentieth century, they include politics and economics along with society and culture. Another, *Texas Vistas* (2006), edited by Ralph A. Wooster, Robert A. Calvert, and Adrian Anderson, has just been released in its third edition. It consists of eighteen essays taken from the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, fifteen of which were written over the last two decades. While the editors included much new scholarship, modern Texas garnered only five articles. In addition, there are several specialized anthologies, such as those edited by Char Miller and Heywood T. Sanders, *Urban Texas, Politics and Development* (1990), Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones, *Women and Texas History, Selected Essays* (1993), Roy R. Barkley *et al.*, *The Handbook of Texas Music* (2003), and Donald Willet and Stephen Curley, *Invisible Texans: Women and Minorities in Texas History* (2005). These studies, however, have a narrow focus and do not treat—in one volume—all the significant social and cultural developments of twentieth-century Texas.

Along with anthology editors, individual authors have also moved in new historiographical directions. They have pursued new research trends that address multiple perspectives, social issues, and cultural diversity within a modern, more complex society. Examples include Arnoldo De León, *Ethnicity in the Sunbelt: A History of Mexican Americans in Houston* (1989), Elizabeth Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life* (1998), Merline Pitre, *In Struggle Against Jim Crow: Lulu B. White and the NAACP, 1900-1957* (1999), Ty Cashion, *Pigskin Pulpit, A Social History of Texas High*

School Football Coaches (1999), Keith L. Bryant, Jr., *Culture in the American Southwest* (2001), Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *Tejano Proud: Tex-Mex Music in the Twentieth Century* (2002), and Carlos K. Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas* (2004).

Although *Twentieth-Century Texas: A Social and Cultural History* traverses some of the same terrain as these earlier studies, it focuses solely on the past century, bringing the story up-to-date. Each contributor is an expert in their respective field and has researched and/or published on their topic. Collectively, the fifteen essays herein elaborate on and update themes of major importance in modern Texas, such as immigration, industrialization, urbanization, ethnicity, class, race, gender, cultural identity, and religious pluralism. A list of suggested further readings concludes each essay.

Texas changed enormously from 1900 to 2000—from a rural to an increasingly urban society characterized by sprawling metropolitan areas such as Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio, from a predominantly agricultural and ranching economy to a highly sophisticated industrialized and communications giant, from an Anglo-dominated populace to a racial and ethnic kaleidoscope, from a Protestant bastion of Methodists and Baptists to Catholic ascendancy and religious pluralism, from a male-controlled state to one where women stand much closer in equality, from primitive frontier medical practices to a major center of world-class medical institutions dedicated to cutting-edge technology and research. The social and cultural impact of such changes has been dramatic, and that is the subject of this anthology.

As several contributors have pointed out, the early decades of the twentieth century still resembled in many ways the latter nineteenth century. In 1900 Texans remained largely rural, agricultural, and Anglo. Nevertheless, broad currents of change were underway, especially the movement from the farm to the city, so that by 1940

more Texans officially lived in urban areas. But urbanization and modernization also brought social problems, namely inadequate schools, poor health-care facilities, and environmental concerns.

Several authors address the effects of this accelerated demographic change. Gene B. Preuss, in “Public Schools Come of Age,” focuses on the evolution of the state school system from its rudimentary, rural one-room school house to a basic restructuring of Texas education emphasizing “equity, efficiency, liberty, and excellence.” Educational reform then became the hallmark of continued growth and prosperity in the state. Spurred by the state’s petroleum industry, major medical, technological, and scientific research centers located in the burgeoning Texas cities. In “The Second Texas Revolution: From Cotton to Genetics and the Information Age,” Kenneth E. Hendrickson and Glenn M. Sanford document the growth of important institutions, such as M. D. Anderson in Houston, the electronics giant Texas Instruments, and NASA, the Cold War-era space agency. These advances ranked Texas “second to none” among the other states. However, modernization and urbanization severely affected the environment. As Tai Kreidler points out in “Lone Star Landscape: Texans and Their Environment,” the seemingly limitless Texas frontier of the nineteenth century was transformed by increasing pressure on its finite resources. Unfettered capitalism, with its attendant exploitation of the natural habitat, had reduced the availability of the public domain, pure air, abundant wildlife, and clean water, resulting in a growing awareness of the need for conservation, regulation, and environmental protection.

Several of the essays call attention to the impact of immigration. Multitudes of Mexicans migrated northward in the wake of the 1910 revolution, and sizeable numbers of Asians settled in Texas after changes in the nation’s immigration laws in the mid-1960s. The effects are everywhere, from ethnic restaurants and Spanish-language programming to Vietnamese enclaves and Islamic centers. In

“Pagodas amid the Steeples: The Changing Religious Landscape,” John W. Storey describes how Catholics finally overtook Baptists to become the state’s largest religious body. In turn, these denominations have had to make room for Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, and others. Mexican Americans, soon to be the dominant ethnic group in Texas by 2030, also became more numerous and more assertive. Anthony Quiroz, in “The Quest for Identity and Citizenship: Mexican Americans in Twentieth-Century Texas,” chronicles not only their pursuit for acceptance and equal treatment, but also an emerging sense of Americanism, especially after World War II. The influence of immigration is also seen in music and other forms of cultural expression as various ethnic groups expressed their unique history and folk culture. Gary Hartman, for example, in “From Yellow Roses to Dixie Chicks: Women and Gender in Texas Music History,” explains how *corridos* recall the epic tales of heroic Mexican Americans, frequently emphasizing Anglo-Mexican tensions. That immigration has made Texas considerably more diverse is undeniable.

Social change rarely comes easily, and individuals and groups that agitate for more equitable treatment and prod society to become more inclusive frequently face everything from mild ridicule and scorn to physical harassment and deadly violence. For proof of this one has only to scan the history of Native Americans, African Americans, Mexican Americans, and women. As for the Indians, the twentieth century represented both a continuation of and a departure from basic themes of conflict and assimilation associated with tribal history. Gerald Betty, in “Manifestations of the Lone Star: The Search for Indian Sovereignty,” focuses on the three remaining official tribes in Texas—the Alabama-Coushatta, the Tigua, and the Kickapoo—as well as the recent phenomenon of “urban Indians.” Despite numerous threats to tribal integrity and autonomy, Betty argues that modern Texas Indians have not only maintained their cultural identity but have also flourished.

For the other aforementioned groups, early twentieth-century Texas was about as rigidly segregated as other parts of the Old South, and deeply felt racial and gender attitudes made discrimination against them an accepted way of life. Cary D. Wintz, in “The Struggle for Dignity: African Americans in Twentieth-Century Texas,” shows how blacks suffered from negative prejudicial images in the aftermath of the Galveston storm of 1900. While organization, protests, and legal pressure gradually eroded many of the obstacles to racial equality, episodes of racism and violence against African Americans were frequent, as seen in the savage murder of the young African American Jesse Washington at the hands of a frenzied mob in Waco in 1916. Although the discrimination and segregation that Mexican Americans also experienced was less virulent, it still relegated them to a position of second-class citizenship. Even their enlistment and service in World War II did not combat racism at home. For example, Anthony Quiroz, in “The Quest for Identity and Citizenship,” relates the treatment of Private Felix Longoria, a war hero who in 1949 was refused burial by a Three Rivers funeral home due to his Hispanic status. At the same time, World War II was pivotal for women, who in the absence of the fighting men proved they could handle “men’s work” as well as any Texas male. But even with the political, economic, and legal gains of the past century, Angela Boswell, in “From Farm to Future: Women’s Journey Through Twentieth-Century Texas,” contends that women continue to face difficulties in balancing their traditional duties with the new roles and opportunities they achieved. One third of the essays herein explore all these matters in some depth.

Industrialization, another key marker of modern Texas, was noticeable by the turn of the century, particularly in the cities, but in rural areas as well. During the twentieth century Texas was transformed from a state with a rural, colonial economy to one with a world-class scientific, medical, and research infrastructure. World War II in particular had a major impact as military camps and de-

fense plants located in Texas, a Sun Belt state. Ralph A. Wooster, in “Over Here: Texans on the Home Front,” describes the growth of that expansion as thousands of Texans were employed in war-related industries. In turn, the rise of key industries such as petrochemicals, medical, and electronics also produced great wealth for a few Texans. In “Private Wealth, Public Good: Texans and Philanthropy,” Mary L. Kelley shows how a new millionaire class used wealth for positive social and cultural change. In some cases the new industries influenced even the shaping of the state’s image. Don Graham, in “Lone Star Cinema: A Century of Texas in the Movies,” contrasts the classic portrayal of Texans as ranching and oil barons in *Giant* with *Hud*, the 1963 film that juxtaposed a fading pastoral way of life to an emerging industrialized economy characterized by crass materialism and cynicism.

Cultural expression through literature, art, and music has kept pace with the economic growth of the state. While much of it tended to reflect the state’s heroic and romantic past, new currents moved beyond the staid stereotypes of the pioneering generation to an emphasis on the state’s more ethnically diverse, urban population. In “Goodbye Ol’ Paint, Hello Rapid Transit: Texas Literature in the Twentieth Century,” Mark Busby chronicles not only the contributions of the “Texas Triumvirate”—Dobie, Bedichek, and Webb—but also newer literary currents that recognize the reality of an urban Texas and ethnic diversity. In a society that denied them legal, political, or economic equality, Texas women found in music a public voice to express their beliefs, values, and concerns. Gary Hartman’s essay exposes the gendered nature of Texas music from the famous ballad of “The Yellow Rose of Texas,” concerning Emily West’s relationship with the Mexican General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, to the political criticism of George W. Bush by the Dixie Chicks, which to many breached the boundaries of “proper” womanhood. Although Texans have not always appreciated them, Michael R. Grauer, in “‘Wider Than the Limits of Our State’: Texas

Art in the Twentieth Century,” shows that Texas has always had painters and sculptors whose reputations transcended the state’s boundaries.

That Texans love sports, particularly football on Friday nights, is legendary. In “The Games Texans Play,” Bill O’Neal delves into the varied athletic activities and the heroes and heroines who have achieved sporting immortality. Such physical competitions, he argues, stem from the state’s frontier roots that emphasized both individual effort and teamwork in a competitive environment.

By the outset of the twenty-first century Texas had essentially shed its frontier heritage, but Hollywood films, local rodeos, state fairs, urban cowboys, dance halls, and museum exhibits still provide nostalgic snapshots into its storied past. Even so, the image of a rural, male-dominated, homogeneous society no longer rings true with the reality of an urban, diverse, heterogeneous state. The social and cultural changes of the twentieth century—ethnic, racial, and religious diversity, changing gender roles, environmental concerns, urban sprawl, high-tech industries, expanding educational and philanthropic opportunities, and cultural and artistic expression—have transformed the state, making it more like other cosmopolitan parts of the nation. For the near future these trends will likely continue as Texans of all stripes and backgrounds put their stamp on the Lone Star State.