

RACE, INCOME, AND ETHNICITY: RESIDENTIAL CHANGE IN A HOUSTON COMMUNITY, 1920-1970

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Local history is more than just "history with the brains left out," as Alexander Callow has labeled it. Through local studies we may be able to see "the process of urbanization over time." With coordinated neighborhood studies, scholars can examine the increase in urban scale, the centrifugal force of modern urban technology, and the relationship of physical mobility to income, race and status. One result would be a better understanding of the critical interrelationship between the suburban ideal and transportation technology. The process of change in the neighborhoods around the University of Houston, including Washington Terrace, Riverside Terrace, and Riverside illustrates major themes of residential change and urban growth in the twentieth century. These changes serve both as a study in local history and as a case study of the role of race and income on neighborhood ecology.¹

Despite the recent "gentrification" of American cities, the dominant historical trend has been centrifugal expansion coupled with the physical decline of older neighborhoods. Pre-industrial cities had their elites in the center of the city and the lesser classes on the urban fringes, but the trolley and later the automobile reversed this pattern. The needs of a growing middle class in the closing decades of the nineteenth century were met by the creation of "streetcar suburbs" on the periphery of the old "walking city." Once fashionable areas in the old city became the repository of vast numbers of immigrants. In the twentieth century, the adoption of the automobile as the major conveyance of urban Americans further increased centrifugal forces and expanded the city's scale; the car turned once hallowed "streetcar

¹Alexander Callow, ed., *American Urban History*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) p. 638, in which Callow paraphrases Asa Briggs. Roy Lubove, "The Urbanization Process: An Approach to Historical Research," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January, 1967), pp. 33-39.

suburbs" into part of the inner city, or even part of the Central Business District.²

As the scale of the American city increased, a redistribution of its population, especially of rapidly growing minority populations, occurred. Minorities, especially blacks, were responding to a number of changing variables, including improvements in their standard of living and a desire for a home and neighborhood commensurate with their improved condition. As a result, they moved into communities that had formerly barred them through social pressure or legal devices. White panic, blockbusting, and the creation of an all-black community followed. Residential succession and the subsequent failure of metropolitan reintegration movements have often created the spatial pattern of a black inner city surrounded by white communities.³ Houston, the alleged "golden buckle of the sunbelt," typifies this pattern.

Houston's rapid growth resulted primarily from the discovery of oil in nearby Beaumont, Texas in 1901 and the completion of the Houston Ship

²An example of the so-called revival of the city can be seen in Blake Fleetwood, "The New Elite and an Urban Renaissance," *New York Times Magazine* (January 14, 1979), pp. 16-22, 26, 34-36. Scott Greer discusses the centrifugal forces in *Governing the Metropolis* (New York: Wiley, 1962), p. 20. An excellent article on the spatial evolution of the suburbs is Peter O. Muller's, "The Evolution of American Suburbs: A Geographical Interpretation," *Urbanism Past and Present*, Number 4 (Summer 1977), p. 1-11. Also see David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). See Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (New York: Atheneum, 1974). For a spatial analysis of the city: Richard Wade, "The Periphery versus the Center," in *Urban Bosses, Machines, and Progressive Reformers*, edited by Bruce M. Stave (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1972), pp. 75-80; Zane Miller's *Boss Cox's Cincinnati, Urban Politics in the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). For information on the older suburbs see, Richard Wade, "America's Cities are Mostly Better Than Ever," *American Heritage*, 30 (February 1979), pp. 4-13. Houston *Post*, February 4, 1979. For a general survey of urban trends see, David R. Goldfield and Blaine Brownell, eds., *Urban America: From Downtown to No Town* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1979).

³For material on the physical mobility of blacks and the growth of communities see: Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto: Negro New York, 1890-1930* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966); David M. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1973); Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto, Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle Class Reform, Chicago, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1976); Allan Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); John Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973); Paul Groves and Edward Shaw, "The Evolution of Black Residential Areas in Late Nineteenth Century Cities," *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April 1975), pp. 169-192; David Goldfield, "The Black Ghetto: A Tragic Sameness" [review essay], *Journal of Urban History* Vol. 3, No. 3 (May 1977), pp. 361-370; Lawrence DeGraff, "The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890-1930," *Pacific Historical Review* No. 39 (August 1970), pp. 323-352; Reynolds Farley, "The Changing Distribution of Negroes within Metropolitan Areas: The Emergence of Black Suburbs," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 75, No. 4 Part I (January 1970), pp. 512-529; and Harold X. Connolly, *A Ghetto Grows in Brooklyn* (New York: New York University Press, 1977). For material on the ecology of the city see: Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*; Muller, "The Evolution of American Suburbs"; Wade, "The Periphery Versus the Center," Goldfield and Brownell, *Urban America*, pp. 134-159, 243-269.

Channel in 1914. Its boom in the 1920s was temporarily interrupted by the Depression and World War II, but it resumed with greater speed after 1945. From 1920 to 1924, Houston's population grew from 138,275 to approximately 250,000 and by 1930 its population was 292,352. In 1900 the city covered only 9 square miles, but by 1920 it had grown to 39 square miles. In the rapid expansion of the 1920s, Houston almost doubled in size through annexation, expanding to 72 square miles. By 1949 Houston contained 160.07 square miles, and its major annexation phase still lay ahead in the next few decades. In the late 1970s, Houston extends over 500 square miles and is still expanding.⁴

This growth was aided by the increasing reliance on the automobile, which overcame distance, and a massive in-migration from other sections of the country. Growth, coupled with a lack of zoning and a weak tradition of public planning, has given Houston the image of an unplanned and chaotic city. Houston is indeed partially planned, but by private developers through large scale tract development based upon deed restrictions. The most famous of these developments is the elite River Oaks community on Houston's west side, built in the early 1920s by the Hogg brothers.⁵ This community served as the model for other developers in the embryonic automobile age. They mimicked River Oaks for citizens desiring the beauty, services, and exclusivity of River Oaks, but unable to live there for financial, religious, or racial reasons.

The MacGregor area, developed at the same time as River Oaks, used the Hogg venture as its guide, especially in the Riverside section adjacent to Bray's Bayou. Development of the area was begun by Henry Frederick MacGregor, a native of Derry, New Hampshire, who moved to Houston in 1883 after spending ten years in Galveston. He purchased the old Houston Street Railway Company, a single line that ran from downtown Houston to the fairgrounds at McGowen and Travis. Using this as his base, he laid out the first city street car system, initially mule-drawn and then electrified. By 1900 MacGregor was involved in real estate and was instrumental in extending Houston's residential area southward from McGowen. He built the MacGregor-South End addition around Main and Alabama Streets, the Empire addition at Cleburne and

⁴Houston Planning Commission, *Land, Population Growth* (1951), pp. 29-31, 47; Chandler Davidson, *Biracial Politics: Conflict and Coalition in the Metropolitan South* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1973), p. 18; Charles Orson Cook and Barry J. Kaplan, "Civic Elites and Urban Planning, Houston's River Oaks," *East Texas Historical Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1977), pp. 29-37; David McComb, *Houston: The Bayou City* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1969); and Marilyn McAdams Sibley, *The Port of Houston, A History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

⁵Cook and Kaplan, "River Oaks." For a study of the Houston zoning movements see Barry J. Kaplan, "Urban Development, Economic Growth, and Personal Liberty: The Rhetoric of the Houston Anti-Zoning Movements, 1947-1962" in the October 1980 issue of *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

Almeda Streets, and the MacGregor-Blodgett addition on both sides of Main at Blodgett.⁶

In addition, MacGregor owned forty acres in the Calumet-Binz area, which was part of the Riverside development. He divided the tract into five acre parcels and sold it, naming the entire forty acre tract the Jessica addition, after his cow.⁷ MacGregor planned the Riverside addition, but before it could be built he died in 1923. After his death, his executors sold the land for the planned Riverside addition and, following instructions in his will, were instrumental in creating MacGregor Park and the beautiful MacGregor Drives connecting the park with Hermann Park to the west. Under the direction of MacGregor's widow, Elizabeth, the executors gave about 120 acres for MacGregor Park and "respecting MacGregor's wishes that the park be connected to Hermann Park by a scenic drive, donated much of the parklands along the bayou."⁸

MacGregor's scenic drive and park were only part of the growing attractiveness of the area. To the west was Hermann Park and the previously developed Binz area, built in the early 1900s on a 500 acre tract, which was composed of upper middle class families and "many modest homes."⁹ Part of the desirable South Main Street neighborhood, the Binz was an attractive location due to its proximity to Rice Institute (now Rice University) completed in 1912, and to Hermann Park, a gift of George Hermann in 1914. The Houston Park Board added additional acres to the original 285 acres, and two years later Hermann donated 10 acres adjacent to the park for a hospital. That hospital, plus additional facilities built in the 1940s and after, would be the

⁶Houston *Chronicle*, April 18, 1971; Houston Chapter, American Institute of Architects, *Houston-An Architectural Guide* (Houston Chapter, American Institute of Architects, 1972), p. 13; [Pamphlet] "Riverside Terrace" (Houston: Guardian Trust Company), Subdivision Collection, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, henceforth called HMRC. The MacGregor area, bounded on the north by the Gulf Freeway, on the east by Calhoun Street, on the south by Old Spanish Trail, and on the west by Almeda Road, is composed of three census tracts that roughly correspond to three neighborhoods: Washington Terrace, Riverside Terrace and Riverside. Its northernmost boundaries are part of the Third Ward. Washington Terrace corresponds to census tract 45; in 1970 it was changed to census tract 306. It is bounded on the north by Alabama, on the east by the H.B. & T. Railroad tracks, on the south by Blodgett, and on the west by Main Street. Riverside Terrace corresponds to Census Tract 46; in 1970 it was changed to Census Tract 307. It is bounded on the north by Blodgett, on the east by Scott, on the south by Bray's Bayou, and on the west by Almeda. Riverside corresponds to Census Tract 47A; in 1970 it was changed to Census Tract 315. It is bounded on the north by Bray's Bayou, on the south by Holcombe and Old Spanish Trail, on the east by Almeda, and on the west by Calhoun.

⁷Houston *Chronicle*, April 18, 1971; Houston Chamber of Commerce, "The Binz Area, Inner City Rejuvenation," *Houston*, Vol. 48, No. 8 (September 1977), pp. 20-23, 59.

⁸Quotation, Houston *Chronicle*, April 18, 1971. For material on the creation of MacGregor Drives and MacGregor Park, see the Oscar Holcombe Collection, Box 2, especially a letter to the "Mayor, City Commissioner, and Park Board from the Estate of Henry F. MacGregor," December 16, 1925 and a letter to J.C. McVea, City Engineer, from C.M. Malone, vice-president of the Guardian Trust Company, June 19, 1926, HMRC.

⁹"The Binz Area," p. 23.



Washington Terrace corresponds to Census Tract 45; Riverside Terrace corresponds to Census Tract 46; Riverside corresponds to Census Tract 47A (for details, see note 6).

beginnings of the world famous Texas Medical Center. In 1916, on a 2.75 acre plot of land, the future Houston Fine Art Museum was created on the corner of Montrose and Main, adjacent to the highly exclusive Shadyside and Broadacres residential enclaves. These developments between 1900 and 1920 were assisted by the extension of the streetcar line southward down Main Street to Rice and served as a magnet for the nearby Riverside Terrace subdivision.¹⁰ That community would be based not on the streetcar, unlike the South Main area, but on the new automobile.

Riverside Terrace was opened in 1924, and early sales brochures stressed the premier location of this new subdivision. The first section of the project was built within an area bounded by Almeda, Blodgett, Live Oak, and Oakdale, and it was financed by the Guardian Trust Company. The brochures emphasized that it was only a few blocks from the South End Junior High School, and near the Southmore Grade School, the Houston Art Museum, and Hermann Park. "Within this radius is the most select residential district of Houston today. It will be so tomorrow, and for all time." Borrowing the sales rhetoric of River Oaks, the developer noted that there would be "rigid building restrictions . . . so that each purchaser is assured beforehand of the exact character of the improvements with which he will be surrounded."¹¹

Lot sizes varied from 50' by 100' to 150' to 165', and generally they were less expensive than other comparable areas. For instance, a lot 50' by 100' cost \$1,800 as compared to \$2,500 for a similar lot in fashionable Montrose. The size of the homes varied, and "building restrictions vary on each street according to size of the building sites, insuring uniform improvements on the different streets."¹² In a letter to a prospective customer, C.M. Malone, vice-president of the Guardian Trust Company, stressed that the customer would get more for the money, and the proximity of the subdivision to the South Main cultural, medical, educational, and social facilities "was the reason we selected this property for development."¹³

The success of Riverside Terrace attracted other developers and in April, 1924, Washington Terrace was begun north of Riverside Terrace. Owned by Nelms Investment Company and placed on sale by G.E. Simpson Realty Service, there were over 1,000 lots that started from 55' to 105'. This subdivision began at Chartres Street, off East Alabama, and at another point it reached as far north as Holman Avenue on Chartres. Its southern boundary

¹⁰*Ibid.* Nicholas Lemann, "Super Medicine," *Texas Monthly* (April 1979), pp. 110-120. For an excellent study of the exclusive Shadyside residential enclave and its relation to the city beautiful movement see Stephen Fox, "Public Art and Private Places: Shadyside," *The Houston Review*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Winter 1980), pp. 39-60.

¹¹Quotation, "Riverside Terrace"; see also Elaine Maas, "The Jews of Houston: An Ethnographic Study," (Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University, 1973), p. 52.

¹²"Riverside Terrace."

¹³C.M. Malone, vice-president of the Guardian Trust Company to Miss Julia Ideson, April 30, 1925, Subdivision Collection, Riverside Terrace, HMRC.

was Blodgett, across from Riverside Terrace, while its western boundary and eastern boundaries were Dowling and Ennis respectively.¹⁴

Like Riverside Terrace, the developer's brochures emphasized the suburban atmosphere of the neighborhood, yet observed how close it was to the center of the city. Although it was on the southernmost fringe of the city limits, it was only three miles from the courthouse, the theoretical center of Houston. Like Riverside Terrace, the brochures noted the proximity of the South Main area and proclaimed that the garden environment would be enhanced by urban amenities like sidewalks, curbs, gutters, electric lights, telephones, and paved streets. It was also protected by deed restrictions "designed to eliminate undersirable features which tend to reduce values and effect the beauty and desirability of a home." For instance, "no residence can be erected to cost less than \$14,500 for lots beginning at \$1,350." These restrictions were designed in lieu of zoning, to ensure that Washington Terrace would remain "a highclass home-place of beauty."

Like an ocean liner with various separate classes of accommodations, the MacGregor area subdivisions were designed for a range of incomes, so at least in Washington Terrace, "families of moderate means" could reside in the development, albeit blocks away from higher income families.¹⁵ Although each subdivision attempted to accommodate a range of middle to upper income groups, generally Washington Terrace catered to a variety of middle income groups; Riverside Terrace appealed to upper-middle class incomes, while River Oaks and Riverside catered to upper class incomes. But in all of these developments, the builders attempted to create communities within communities based upon class and income, through the use of lot sizes and deed restrictions. One important restriction applied to all of these communities: "the property shall never be sold to any person other than the caucasian race."¹⁶

Residential segregation in the MacGregor area was obvious in another subdivision that was on 400 acres of land east of Riverside Terrace and south of the increasingly black Third Ward. In a letter to the First National Bank and other property holders, C.M. Malone of the Guardian Trust Company discussed subdivision development and various threats to its success. Malone wanted to organize a real estate company which would encompass all of the property owners in the 400 acre tract, fearing that individual development or one "cheap subdivision" could hurt the investment of all the other property owners. Under his plan, which called for uniform development similar to Riverside Terrace on the west, the new subdivision would connect Riverside Terrace to Scott Street on the east. Malone did warn the propertyholders that:

"Brochure, "Washington Terrace," Subdivision Collection, Washington Terrace, HMRC.

¹⁵*Ibid.* Also, the pamphlet entitled "Accessibility," February, 1927, Subdivision Collection, Washington Terrace, HMRC.

¹⁶"Restrictions," April, 1924, Subdivision Collection, Washington Terrace, HMRC.

One of the dangers to this property is the encroachment of the negro settlement on the North. During the past few days there has been one owner within this tract who has said that he was going to put in a negro addition. If this happens, the surrounding territory is depreciated immediately. The plan suggested would absolutely bar any negro property provided all property owners come in.

Stressing the need to develop the area as a unit so that it would be indistinguishable from Riverside Terrace, Malone told the property holders that the new subdivision would be run like Riverside Terrace and that Guardian Trust would again act as selling agents. He observed:

When we started Riverside Terrace it was not as promising as this particular tract of land is now, for the reason there were no paved streets past of Main Street, and the people had been educated to go to the other side of Main Street for their high class property.

The final point of Malone's letter appealed to the pecuniary interests of the owners. By banding together, "we can make everybody a great deal more money out of this proposition. . . ."¹⁷

Malone's fears of black encroachment and its effect of land values reflects the segregated nature of Houston society and the proximity of Washington Terrace to one of Houston's black communities: the Third Ward. Houston was no exception to the general racial segregation of life in southern communities, and by 1920 there was a growing black population in Houston of approximately thirty-four thousand people. According to historian Robert Haynes, "between 1870 and 1915 two separate societies—one white and the other black—took shape, first by custom and then later by legislation."¹⁸ Although blacks lived throughout Houston, the "vast majority resided in one of three areas. The largest single concentration of blacks was in the San Felipe districts, located in the Fourth Ward on the west side of town. Smaller communities existed in the Third Ward along both sides of Dowling Street and in the Fifth Ward. . . ."¹⁹ The Dowling Street community was immediately to

¹⁷All three quotations are from a letter from C.M. Malone to the First National Bank, *et al*, December 15, 1925, found in the Oscar Holcombe Collection, Box 2 Folder 1, Braes Bayou Project (MacGregor Way), December, 1925-August, 1928, HMRC.

¹⁸Robert Haynes, *A Night of Violence: The Houston Riot of 1917* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), pp. 25-32 for a picture of Houston's black community and page 25 for the quotation. *Architectural Guide*, pp. 55-81.

¹⁹Haynes, *A Night of Violence*, p. 31. For a background on the Fifth Ward, see Richard West, "Only the Strong Survive," *Texas Monthly* (February 1979), pp. 94-105, 170-180.

the north and northeast of Washington and Riverside Terraces. Though deed restrictions and customs were barriers, fears of black encroachment into white neighborhoods were one reason why Will Hogg, chairman of the Houston Planning Commission in 1929, proposed zoning by race. Due to the failure, however, of the city to pass a comprehensive zoning measure, this proposal was never enacted.²⁰

Due to their favorable, if imperfect, location, Washington and Riverside Terraces rapidly filled with middle class suburban homes and were annexed to the city in 1927, along with Riverside. Along the bayou and south of Old Spanish Trail, expensive mansions and homes, modeled after River Oaks, gave Riverside the reputation in the 1930s as a "swank residential area," although its greatest home construction era was between 1950 and 1960. Other subdivisions in the MacGregor area "capitalized on Riverside's prestige imagery but did not have its complete amenities."²¹ The middle class subdivisions did serve a useful function by buttressing "the area's growth by appealing to solidly middle class residents," and insulating the elite in the Riverside area from the rest of the city.²² In the 1940s, additional private developments like Foster Place, south of Old Spanish Trail, and Timber Crest, in the old Jessica addition, joined the already successful subdivisions.²³

Generally the most expensive homes were along Bray's Bayou on North and South MacGregor Drives. In 1930 they sold for about \$30,000, and "quickly became an area for the wealthy."²⁴ The Riverside area was identified by the rest of the city as the "Jewish Community." Wealthy Jewish families including the Weingartens, the Sakowitzes, and the Farbs, barred from River Oaks and other elite subdivisions by the "gentlemen's agreement," settled in Riverside. It was the "Jewish River Oaks."²⁵

The residential mobility of Houston's Jews foreshadowed the general movement of Houston's larger black community. Jews first lived "in and around the Third Ward" and, when East European Jews moved to Houston in the late nineteenth century, they also settled in the Second Ward (around Houston and Washington Avenues, northeast of MacGregor). Because the

²⁰*Architectural Guide*, p. 81 and the *Houston Chronicle*, April 25, 1971, October 31, 1929; McComb, *The Bayou City*, p. 158.

²¹Quotation, *Architectural Guide*, p. 114; *Houston Post*, July 6, 1964; *Houston Chronicle*, April 18, 1971.

²²*Architectural Guide*, p. 114.

²³*Ibid.* Houston City Planning Department, *Housing Analysis: Low-Moderate Income Areas* (1978), p. 45.

²⁴*Houston Chronicle*, April 18, 1971.

²⁵Maas, "The Jews of Houston," p. 59; *Architectural Guide*, p. 115; *Houston Chronicle*, April 18, 1971; *Houston Post*, July 6, 1964. For evidence of the "gentlemen's agreement," see Cook and Kaplan, "River Oaks" backnote number 15, page 36. For material on other areas subject to the "gentlemen's agreement" see Maas, "The Jews of Houston," p. 59.

Reform Temple, Beth Israel, was located in the Third Ward, Jews referred to it as their "silk stocking district."²⁶ By 1917 Jews began to move to Houston's west side, into Montrose, Avondale, Westheimer, and Hyde Park. When Washington Terrace opened up further south, Jews who could afford to buy homes moved there.²⁷

Institutions followed the southward Jewish migration. Temple Beth Israel moved in 1925 from its second location at Lamar and Crawford to Austin and Holman Streets, adjacent to Washington Terrace. In 1945 Temple Beth Yeshurun was built near the University of Houston on Southmore Street. Other synagogues and the Jewish Community Center moved near or within the MacGregor area, giving the neighborhood a distinctly Jewish institutional tone, though Jews remained a distinct minority.²⁸

By the 1940s, the majority of Houston's Jews lived to the east of Main Street in Washington and Riverside Terrace, southward to Riverside. A viable community, the neighborhood in 1945 seemed to have a stable future as the continued residence of the Jewish-white-middle and upper classes. But in the postwar years, a combination of factors changed the racial composition of the community and severely changed the image of some components of the area, especially Washington Terrace.

The change resulted from housing policy, population growth, and transportation improvements. The construction of the freeway system in the 1950s compressed distance, opened new land for development, and cut through traditionally minority areas, thus reducing available minority housing stock and even destroying a former center of black community life: Pilgrim's Hall was removed as I-45 severed the Fourth Ward.²⁹ Other freeways such as the 610 Loop, the Southwest Freeway (I-59), and the Katy Freeway (I-10) also ran through several black areas, further reducing housing stock.³⁰ In addition,

²⁶Quotes, Maas, "The Jews of Houston," p. 50; Houston *Chronicle*, April 7, 1979, for a history of Beth Israel and its four locations. Also see Gerald Salzman, "A History of Zionism in Houston, Texas, 1897-1975," (M.A. Thesis, University of Houston, 1976), pp. 43, 45, 53.

²⁷Maas, "The Jews of Houston," pp. 50-51. For an excellent study of the Jewish Community in Houston, see Sam Schulman, David Gottlieb, and Sheila Sheinberg, *A Social and Demographic Survey of the Jewish Community of Houston, Texas* (The Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Houston, Inc., 1976).

²⁸Quotation, Maas, "The Jews of Houston," pp. 46-47; see also Salzman, "Zionism in Houston," p. 53; and the story of Beth Israel's migrations, Houston *Chronicle*, April 7, 1979.

²⁹Houston-Galveston Regional Transportation Survey, *Newsletter*, Vol. 7, No. 2, April 1977; Houston-Galveston Regional Transportation Study, "Opening Dates for State Maintained Freeways and Expressways in Houston," pp. 1-4. I would like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Hans (Chris) Olavson, Traffic Manager, Houston-Galveston Regional Transportation Study and William McClure, Urban Administrative Engineer.

³⁰Thomas E. Freeman, "Houston's Fourth Ward: A Program for Redevelopment," (M.A. Thesis, University of Houston, 1978), p. 5. *Architectural Guide*, pp. 55-81.

the inducements of new homes built with the latest technological improvements and secured with FHA housing loans, coupled with the distance-shrinking ability of the freeways, accelerated the centrifugal pattern. With land traditionally less expensive on the periphery, the new subdivisions, given government policy and transportation innovations, were affordable by middle class standards and fit the suburban ideal.³¹

Between 1930, when Houston totaled 72 square miles, and 1970, when continued annexation increased that figure to 450.2 square miles, Houston's population grew from 292,352 to 1,232,302. From 1950 to 1960, primarily as a result of in-migration, Houston's population increased from 596,163 to 938,219. According to the Houston City Planning Department, Houston's population tripled from 1940 to 1978 and since 1945, "it can be generalized that three fourths of the built-up areas has been developed."³²

This rapid growth also affected the black community. Between 1940 and 1970, Houston's black population increased from 86,302 or 21.4 percent of the total population, to 316,922 or 25.7 percent of the total population. Between 1950 and 1960, Houston's blacks increased from 125,400 to 215,037, a slight proportional increase of 21 percent to 22.9 percent. According to Chandler Davidson's *Biracial Politics*, 87.9 percent of the black increase between 1940 and 1950 was the result of in-migration, primarily from "small towns and rural areas in Texas and Louisiana." Between 1955 and 1960, only 34 percent of the black in-migrants were from other Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (S.M.S.A.).³³ These rural blacks initially settled in the traditional black communities of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Wards within the central city, but the heavy increase in numbers expanded the boundaries of these communities until they included the former Jewish areas of the city. As in northern cities, the black influx coincided with, or possibly precipitated a movement of whites from areas within the central city. Between 1950 and 1960, the total central city population declined by 34,198, but the black population increased by 20,299, raising their percentage in the central city from 23.4 percent to 31.1 percent.³⁴

The continued in-migration of blacks, and the reduction of available housing stocks presaged a mass movement into white areas contiguous to the burgeoning black communities. The MacGregor area, south of the Third Ward, was one community drastically affected. Three factors in the 1940s

³¹An interesting piece on post-1945 suburbia is by William Severini Kowinski, "Suburbia: End of the Golden Age," *The New York Times Magazine* (March 16, 1980), pp. 16-19, 106-109.

³²Quotation, Houston City Planning Department, *Housing Analysis*, p. 6. For the statistical information see: Davidson, *Biracial Politics*, p. 18; McComb, *The Bayou City*, p. 199; and the United States Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population, Census Tracts*, Vol. 3, Rhode Island Wisconsin; *1960 Census of the Population and Houston, Census Tracts*, pp. 56-65, henceforth called *Census Tracts*; and R.L. Polk, *Houston City Directory*, Vol. 17, 1970.

³³Davidson, *Biracial Politics*, pp. 18-19; United States Bureau of the Census, *Census Tracts* (1950 and 1960).

³⁴Davidson, *Biracial Politics*, pp. 20-21.

helped to set the stage for the rapid demographic changes in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1940, Cuneo Homes, a public housing development of 564 units for low-income blacks, was constructed just north of Blodgett and east of the H.B. & T. Railroad on the southern rim of the Third Ward and separated from Washington Terrace by the railroad that acted as an edge between the two districts. Second, in 1947 the city's only black college, Texas Southern University, was built next to Cuneo Homes. Both institutions created a concentration of blacks on the edge of the two communities and T.S.U.'s growth generated additional demands for housing, both for students and instructors.³⁵

The final factor was the symbolic Supreme Court decision of 1948 which rendered restrictive covenants "non-enforceable" in the courts. Deed restrictions barring blacks were common in the various MacGregor subdivisions and were the major legal barrier used to "protect" the communities from black home buyers. Now that the Supreme Court had removed this legal barrier, the intent was to "allow Negroes to rent or purchase property without the hindrance of such restrictive covenants."³⁶ Of course social pressure, violence, real estate practices, and bank mortgage policy were still viable extralegal devices, but now the legal prop was removed. Given the "pull" of new subdivisions on the periphery and the increased "push" of contiguous growing black communities, the stage was set for the process of neighborhood change.

There is detailed literature pertaining to the process of neighborhood change beginning with Robert E. Park's pioneering work in the 1930s.³⁷ These

³⁵James P. Allen, "An Exploratory Study of Census Tract 45 Emphasizing the Ecological Processes of Invasion and Succession and Concomitant Selected Changes from 1940 to 1969 in Houston, Texas" (M.A. Thesis, Texas Southern University, 1969), p. 33. The spatial perception of the city and a discussion of "edges," see Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1960) and Houston City Planning Department *Housing Analysis*, pp. 160-163.

³⁶For a study of this Supreme Court Decision, see Clement Vose, *Caucasian Only: The Supreme Court, the NAACP, and the Restrictive Covenant Cases* (Berkeley, Calif.: UCLA Press, 1959). For an excellent chapter on restrictive covenants see Philpott, *The Slum and The Ghetto* pp. 181-200.

³⁷Robert E. Park, "Succession, An Ecological Concept," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1936), pp. 171-179. For additional material on residential patterns, see Avery Guest and Ames Weed, "Ethnic Residential Segregation Patterns of Change," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 81, No. 5 (March 1976), pp. 1088-1111; Michael Stephen Hertzberg, "Unsettled Jews: Geographic Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City, (Atlanta)," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, 67 (December 1977), pp. 125-139; Karl Taeuber, Alma Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965); Howard Chudacoff, "A New Look at Ethnic Neighborhoods: Residential Dispersion and the Concept of Visibility in a Medium-Sized City," *Journal of American History*, 60 (June 1973), pp. 76-93; Frederick Schietringer, "Racial Succession and Changing Property Values in Residential Chicago," in *Contributions in Urban Sociology*, edited by E. Burgess and D. Bogue, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Wendell Bell, Ernest Willis, "The Segregation of Negroes in American Cities: A Comparative Analysis," *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1957), pp. 59-75; Alma Taeuber, "A Comparative Urban Analysis of Negro Residential Succession," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962); David Phares, "Racial Change and Houston Values: Transition in an Inner Suburb," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (1971), pp. 560-573; L.K. Northwood, Ernest A.T. Barth, *Urban Desegregation: Negro Pioneers and their White Neighbors* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1965); Morton Grodzins, *The Metropolitan Areas as a Racial Problem* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958); Marcus Felson, "Commentary of Racially Changing Neighborhoods," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (November 1972), pp. 674-676; and Avery Guest, James Zuiches, "Commentary of Racially Changing Neighborhoods: Reply to Felson," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (November, 1972), pp. 676-682.

scholars have studied residential succession and have created models to explain the process. One of the foremost models has been postulated by Alan Taeuber and uses the psychological concept called tipping. When the black proportion, "exceeds the limits of the neighborhood tolerance for interracial living," the whites flee and the area becomes predominantly black. Blacks thus replace whites, first in the central city, and then in the inner-suburban areas, thus creating a pattern of residential segregation through succession. Taeuber suggests that once the black population of a community reaches ten percent, then the psychological tipping mechanism begins in a four stage process: penetration, invasion, consolidation, and piling-up (increased density). In addition, the "invaders" possessed similar socio-economic variables as the dispossessed white population. (Obviously the use of the word "invader" has a very loaded connotation.) "The incoming Negro population was sorted into areas in such a manner that it tended to resemble the displaced white population in several social and economic characteristics."³⁸

The transition of the MacGregor area followed the classical succession pattern of "penetration, invasion, and consolidation." Only in Riverside Terrace, however, did piling-up occur. Generally, the newcomers came from the central city and moved into contiguous areas. Although the MacGregor area racially changed from 1950 to 1960, the initial black inhabitants did correspond to the socio-economic status of the penetrated area, but, however, the socio-economic variables for the black newcomers were generally lower than those of the previous white population. After the first wave, succeeding incoming residents, especially in Washington Terrace, did not correspond to the socio-economic status of the community.

The process of racial change in the MacGregor area was completed in the late 1970s, and now, adjoining communities are undergoing a similar process. Although Washington Terrace was the first community in the MacGregor area to undergo racial succession, since racial transition seems to be a process that moves outward in the metropolitan area, first effecting inner city areas, then former streetcar or early automobile suburbs, we must first examine an area south of downtown, census tract 124, formerly census tract 39. Just north of Washington Terrace, sharing Alabama Street as the dividing line, the tract was 16 percent black in 1940, 24 percent black in 1950, 70 percent black in 1960, and 82 percent black in 1970. In 1950, at the beginning of the transition, it was a blue collar community, and 72 percent of the homes were renter occupied, which made it easier for newcomers to move into the area³⁹ (see Appendix B).

As the community underwent racial transition in the 1950s, the black newcomers were usually blue collar and poorly educated. Generally they were not migrants to the city, rather they came from other parts of Houston,

³⁸Taeuber, "Negro Residential Succession," first quote, p. 6, second quote, p. 5. See also Bailey, "The Emergence of Black Suburbs," pp. 512-529; and Harold M. Rose, *Black Suburbanization: Access to Improved Quality of Life or Maintenance of the Status Quo?* (Cambridge Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1976).

³⁹See *Census Tracts*, 1950, 1960, 1970.

especially the inner city. Of those newcomers to the community between 1955 and 1960, 71 percent were from Houston's central city, 2 percent from another part of the Houston S.M.S.A., and only 27 percent from outside the Houston S.M.S.A. Of those, 84 percent came from the South.⁴⁰

During the period of transition, the average educational level declined, and generally there was a marked decrease in the percentage of white collar workers and an increase in the percentage of service workers, laborers, and private household workers. Although the newcomers had lower socioeconomic variables, they still fit the working class, renter characteristics of the community. Ironically, this area is undergoing a new transitional phase; the Central Business District (C.B.D.) is expanding into this formerly residential area. In 1940 the population was 6,848, but by 1970 it had declined to 3,755. In this transition, the primarily rental property was neglected by the owners waiting for the commercial takeover of the community⁴¹ (see Appendix A and B).

When census tract 124 experienced population succession in the early 1950s, it added additional pressure to the middle class area to the south—Washington Terrace. By 1952 Washington Terrace was experiencing racial succession, and as that middle class buffer area was penetrated, panic hit Riverside Terrace. A well-publicized bombing in Riverside Terrace in 1953, plus widespread blockbusting by unscrupulous real estate agents, aided in the racial transition. By 1960 Washington and Riverside Terraces were generally black, and by 1962 upper middle class blacks jumped the physical edge created by Bray's Bayou and MacGregor Drives and replaced fleeing whites in the posh Riverside area.

In 1940 Washington Terrace was 98 percent white (most of the black population in the MacGregor area were live-in help or living in adjoining communities that transcended census tracts). By 1950 that figure had declined to 93 percent, and by 1960 it slid to 21 percent. That decline continued in the 1960s, and by 1970 whites constituted only 11 percent of Washington Terrace's population. According to James Allen, the major transition in census tract 45 occurred between 1950 and 1952, and after that year, blacks were in the majority. At this stage, the only physical decline in the area was noticeable in rental property.⁴²

As part of the process of succession, blockbusters preyed on the fears of white homeowners in Washington Terrace, as in other transitional areas. Without real estate blockbusting the entire process of blacks replacing whites would probably have been much slower. Integration of these neighborhoods could have occurred anyway without the blockbusters creating panic among

white homeowners. Allen concluded, "the majority of black invaders were already one-time home owners who were interested in mobility for socio-economic reasons."⁴³ In addition, the freeways constructed in the late 1940s and early 1950s cut through black areas, not only displacing them but also giving them a cash windfall which increased their physical mobility.⁴⁴

From 1950 to 1960, the educational level of the population dropped, and there was a decrease in homeownership and a corresponding rise in rental property. In 1950, 34 percent of all units were owner occupied, by 1960 it was 24 percent, and by 1970 it dropped to 15 percent. The occurrence of rental property increased from 58 percent in 1950, to 68 percent in 1960, and 77 percent in 1970. Washington Terrace's physical decline as a residential community began in the 1960s. While there are many factors involved in the decline of Washington Terrace's housing stock, *Houston: An Architectural Guide* noted a "falling-off of city services" after the racial transition.⁴⁵

Although the first black families were essentially middle to lower middle class blacks from the central city wards, again their socio-economic status was lower than those of the fleeing whites. Taeuber's thesis regarding the socioeconomic levels of the new populace, while essentially correct in regard to status within their own community, when compared to whites, suggests that the blacks possessed a lower socio-economic level. Part of this difference in income and job classification can be attributed to economic discrimination and the generally lower professional and educational indices of blacks in relation to whites. But, there were proportional increases in income during the decade in Washington Terrace, inflation notwithstanding⁴⁶ (see Appendix A and B).

Washington Terrace's quick racial transition between 1950 and 1952 had a strong impact on adjoining Riverside Terrace. On April 17, 1953, at 4:45 a.m., four sticks of dynamite exploded on the porch of the Caesar home, on the 2200 block of Wichita in Riverside Terrace. According to the *Houston Chronicle*, "the explosion also signaled the transition of Riverside Terrace from an all white district of affluent business and professional people to a predominantly black neighborhood of mixed income. . . ." The Caesar family was the first black family to break the color barrier that had been maintained in Riverside Terrace since its inception. Caesar was followed by Mrs. Mattie Hilliard, an operator of a black nightclub, who also moved to Wichita Street. The bomber, a fifty-one year old ex-convict named Carl D. (Red) Davis, did not live in the area and was subsequently given two years in jail.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴¹ *Architectural Guide*, p. 116. The term "windfall" could be debated. See also the *Houston Chronicle*, April 18, 1971.

⁴² All figures obtained are based upon the 1950, 1960, 1970 *Census Tracts*, correlated on a 36 page statistical summary which serves as the basis for this section. *Architectural Guide*, p. 116.

⁴³ *Ibid.* Regarding black statistics see Andrew Hacker, *The End of the American Era* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 117.

⁴⁴ *Houston Chronicle*, April 18, 1971.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Rose, *Black Suburbanization*, p. 2, states that the source for the new black suburban rings come from the central city.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, Allen, "An Exploratory Study of Census Tract 45," p. 13.

In 1950 the population of Riverside Terrace was 97 percent white, (generally non-whites were live-in servants), but by 1960 it was only 25 percent white, and by 1970, only 5 percent white. One aspect also occurred in Riverside Terrace that did not happen in Washington Terrace or in census tract 124: the filling-in stage. In 1950 Washington Terrace's total population was 7,354; in 1960 it was 8,552, but by 1970 it had declined to 7,634. In comparison, Riverside Terrace's population in 1950 was 7,635, which rose to 10,027 by 1960, and reached 12,519 in 1970, mainly due to the construction of apartments and the subdividing of old mansions and homes.⁴⁸

Generally, it was the black middle class that moved into Riverside Terrace notwithstanding a slight decrease in educational levels, a sharper decline in occupational indices, coupled with an increase in rental properties and vacant year-round property. While there was a strong decrease in male occupational indices, total occupational figures do not show this drastic change. The large presence of working black women in the family moderates the male occupational figures, and possibly explains the ability of black families to move into Riverside Terrace⁴⁹ (see Appendix B).

As in the areas previously discussed, the new settlers generally came from within the Houston central city. In 1960 only 11 percent of the population in Riverside Terrace had resided there in 1955, and of the newcomers, 78 percent had come from the central city. By 1970 the Riverside Terrace area had become one of the centers of the rising black middle class, despite declining occupational characteristics and evidence of maintenance neglect (see Appendix B). It seems that, as in Washington Terrace, after the initial movement of black families that roughly correspond to the socio-economic indices of the departing whites, possibly due to working black women, there is another wave of families that have lower socio-economic indices. This second group, following the prevailing centrifugal mobility pattern, moves from the central city into the newly black neighborhood in search of better living quarters. In turn, the middle class blacks in the neighborhood continue their move outward, like their white counterparts, in search of a better life within the American suburban ideal. Thus, the upwardly mobile, both black and white, move outward away from the city core, and they are replaced in the old neighborhoods by lower socio-economic groups in search of a better life.⁵⁰

As was previously noted, the black population in Riverside Terrace is of mixed income, and one result was maintenance neglect in some sections of Riverside Terrace. "Substantial old single-family dwelling units mingle with dilapidated rent houses and businesses." But along the bayou, "posh old homes . . . for several blocks north and south of it [the bayou] are now occupied by black businessmen and professional people."⁵¹

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Census Tracts.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Farley, "The Emergence of Black Suburbs," and Rose, *Black Suburbanization*, discuss the outward movement of upwardly mobile black families.

⁵¹Houston *Chronicle*, April 18, 1971.

The southward process of racial succession affected Riverside after the transition of Riverside Terrace. In 1960 Riverside was 99 percent white, but by 1962 the expanding black professional population crossed Bray's Bayou and Old Spanish Trail, and panic struck white homeowners. The Riverside area possessed three civic groups that tried to halt the wave of panic selling. The Houston *Post* in 1964 observed the efforts of the civic clubs to stop the "exodus that began last year and recently threatened to reach the panic state. . . ." A speaker from one of the civic associations charged that one real estate firm "sent a letter to all residents to the effect that the time had come to move out and the firm was here to help us get out."⁵² By 1964 Riverside was 15 percent black, and it had been integrated for two years; by 1970 the black population was 70 percent and rising⁵³ (see Appendix C).

The Riverside area has remained generally an upper class professional area, but for blacks, and because of its prestige among the black community, a section of it has been unofficially renamed "Sugar Hill." Although there have been decreases in educational levels, homeownership, and occupational status, they have been very slight, with some areas, like college graduates, showing an increase. Again, the majority of the new inhabitants came from the central city (see Appendix B).

Riverside was, and is, the wealthiest section of the MacGregor area.⁵⁴ In 1950 Washington Terrace's average annual income was \$3,324 as compared to Riverside Terrace's \$4,902, and Riverside's (including what was later divided into census tract 47B in 1960 and renamed census tract 314 in 1970) was \$4,181. In 1970 the figures were \$5,789, \$6,998, and \$10,003 respectively (see Appendix B). Thus the transition was completed, but a number of questions remain: What happened to the former white residents and their institutions? What is the MacGregor area like in the late 1970s? What is the present pattern of racial succession in Houston, and how does it relate to the process of urbanization in Houston and other cities?

Generally the Jewish population in the MacGregor area, along with their non-Jewish neighbors, moved southwesterly along Bray's Bayou outside the confines of the 610 Loop, which circles what is now considered to be the central city. Many of them moved to Meyerland or the Braeswood section and by 1963, "the center of gravity of the Houston Jewish community had already shifted" to Meyerland. After the population fled, the various institutions like

Houston *Post*, July 6, 1964; David McComb, *The Bayou City*, p. 234. See also Jane Manning, "The MacGregor," *Houston City Magazine* (July 1978), pp. 44, 71.

Ibid., Census Tract, 1970.

Ibid. For an in-depth look at Riverside see, Nathaniel Starr, "An Exploratory Study of Census Tracts 4", Houston, Texas, Emphasizing the Ecological Processes of Invasion and Succession and the Resultant Selected Changes from 1940-1969," (M.A. Thesis, Texas Southern University, 1969).

synagogues and community centers followed in the 1970s.⁵⁵ Two thirds of the Jewish population came to Houston after 1940, however, and most of the new Jewish residents in Meyerland did not come from the MacGregor area.⁵⁶

The 1,200 acre Meyerland subdivision with its 2,700 lots was formally opened to the public in April, 1955, and had "rigid (land use) control of types of homes to be built [and was] first in its price range which provides rigid building restrictions." The homes, generally in the \$15,000 to \$20,000 price range, but with some up to \$40,000, were completely sold even before construction, due to the "dissolution of the Riverside area." Financed by the First Mortgage Company as a "prestige subdivision" and developed by twenty independent builders, it was similar in image and land use to the old MacGregor area, even using Bray's Bayou as its ornamental centerpiece. The suburban dream, now aided by freeways, was still alive as the older suburb became part of the central city and new communities like Meyerland were built on the new outskirts of the city.⁵⁷

As white homeowners left the inner suburbs and were joined by newcomers in the massive in-migration to Houston, the former suburbs became part of the central city. Increasingly, the central city filled with a minority population although there is a strong north/south minority axis as the black population in particular seeks social mobility and better living conditions in the suburbs of Houston. Racial succession continues in Houston, as contiguous neighborhoods continue to change racial character. As the process of succession continues, there often is a corresponding decline in the physical condition of the older central city communities. According to the Houston Planning Commission, "most of the healthy neighborhoods are located in the area outside the loop and furthest from CBD."⁵⁸ According to this study:

A mapping of neighborhoods by classification reveals distinct patterns. Neighborhoods which share a classification tend to cluster geographically, moreover, neighborhoods in successive stages of decline are contiguous to neighborhoods that are experiencing accelerating decline and neighborhoods that are experiencing incipient decline are to be contiguous to healthy neighborhoods.⁵⁹

⁵⁵Quotation, Maas, "The Jews of Houston," p. 68. See also, Schulman, Gottlieb, and Sheinberg, "Social and Demographic Survey," pp.7-9; Salzman, "Zionism in Houston," pp. 36-66.

⁵⁶Maas, "The Jews of Houston," p. 59.

⁵⁷First quotation, Houston Post, April 17, 1955; Architectural Guide, p. 48, second quotation. See Subdivision Collection, Meyerland, HMRC. Also, Max Apple, "This Land is Meyerland," Houston City Magazine (July 1978), pp. 47, 74-75.

⁵⁸Houston City Planning Department, *Housing Analysis*, p. 197.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

In Houston, "group 4 neighborhoods, where the worst deterioration exists, are concentrated in the central core, the area within Loop 610."⁶⁰

This pattern of increased deterioration close to the CBD and decreased physical decline further away from the core, reflects centrifugal forces: in American urban development, American racial values, a decline in city services in the older areas, the higher percentage of rental property in central city areas which aids in the physical decline of the community, the increase in urban scale, and our "throw-away" mentality which abandons older, once desirable communities, "gentrification" notwithstanding.⁶¹ The history of the MacGregor area continues to fit this pattern. Washington Terrace, according to the Houston Planning Department, is now in the stage of accelerating decline. While Riverside Terrace still is a viable community that is generally well maintained, its northern sectors bordering Washington Terrace have deteriorated and the Planning Department has characterized it as in a stage of incipient decline. Overall, Riverside Terrace obtained a fair rating, but continued decline was likely. The Riverside community, due to its high income, did not fall within the boundaries of the study, but there is evidence of deterioration as some of the older homes have become fraternity houses, commercial institutions, and brothels. The area is still quite beautiful and well maintained, but there are limited signs of blight. Further black suburbanization may remove many black professionals to formerly white communities, weakening community ties in older communities, yet, given the recent publicity regarding gentrification, the move by middle and upper class couples back into the central city, the Riverside area may not decline as its location and beauty may continue to draw and keep both blacks and new white families. Given the gentrification process, it is possible that Riverside and possibly Riverside Terrace could become truly integrated communities, but only for the upper-middle and upper class. It seems that racial integration is easier when income segregation has already occurred.⁶²

Thus Houston, a city without major physical restrictions and with liberal annexation laws, generally fits the traditional sociological concepts of residential succession. The increasing scale of the city, which corresponds to Houston's political boundaries, has made the early 1920s suburbs part of the central city. Houston, with the exception of its annexation policy and its reliance on the automobile during its major growth phase, corresponds to the demographic/ecological pattern of older eastern cities. The major difference that disguises this pattern and provides fiscal health for the city is the ability of the city to annex the new suburbs. Thus, centrifugal expansion has increased the scale and boundaries of Houston, with a concomitant expansion of its

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹For evidence of "pink-lining" see a report by the Southwest Center for Urban Research (SCUR), summarized in the Houston Post, February 5, 1979.

⁶²Tarley, "The Emergence of Black Suburbs," and Rose, *Black Suburbanization*.

minority communities. The process of succession has created segregated communities: minorities in the older sections of the city, and whites in the new suburbs. Given changes in transportation and the increased cost of energy this pattern may be changed for upper income families, both black and white. But what will happen to black neighborhoods if white "revitalizers" begin to live in the community? Will communities be naturally integrated, or will the lower income families be deposed from areas that they so recently entered? Whatever the response, it is clear that the process of succession is far from over, although the color and status of the "invaders" may be different from the past.

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APPENDIX

The following tables are compiled from the 1950, 1960, and 1970 census tract figures for Houston and serve to ascertain the major characteristics of the areas. The initial quantitative study comprised thirty-six pages.

CONVERSION TABLE

1950

CENSUS TRACT:

39
45-Washington Terrace
46-Riverside Terrace
47-Riverside and an adjoining area, later called 47B.

1960

47 is divided into 47A which is Riverside and 47B, later called 314.

1970

39 becomes 124
45 becomes 306
46 becomes 307
47A becomes 315

Because Census Tract 47A does not correspond to Riverside until 1960, no statistics are given before that time in the appendices.

APPENDIX A

MEDIAN EDUCATION AND INCOME*

MEDIAN EDUCATION

CENSUS TRACT:	1950	1960	1970
39	11.3 years	10.3 years	10.4 years
45	12.5	12.0	11.2
46	12.7	12.6	12.2
47A		12.8	12.7

MEDIAN INCOME*

CENSUS TRACT:	1950	1960	1970
39	\$2,336	\$3,194	\$ 4,772
45	\$3,324	\$4,264	\$ 5,789
46	\$4,902	\$5,793	\$ 6,998
47A		\$7,755	\$10,003

*income not adjusted for inflation.

APPENDIX B

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS
Total Population

		1950	1960	1970
PROFESSIONAL Census Tract	39	12%	5%	6%
	45	18%	12%	9%
	46	22%	25%	17%
	47A		27%	26%
MANAGERS, OFFICIALS AND PROPRIETORS Census Tract	39	11%	4%	2%
	45	15%	3%	3%
	46	28%	7%	4%
	47A		17%	7%
CLERICAL Census Tract	39	17%	10%	12%
	45	28%	12%	11%
	46	20%	12%	16%
	47A		22%	18%
SALES Census Tract	39	12%	2%	4%
	45	16%	4%	2%
	46	14%	5%	4%
	47A		12%	5%
CRAFTSMEN Census Tract	39	10%	7%	11%
	45	8%	6%	13%
	46	4%	4%	8%
	47A		6%	6%
OPERATIVES Census Tract	39	11%	13%	19%
	45	5%	13%	15%
	46	2%	7%	15%
	47A		4%	17%
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD Census Tract	39	7%	14%	10%
	45	2%	10%	10%
	46	5%	8%	4%
	47A		2%	2%

APPENDIX B (continued)

OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS
Total Population

		1950	1960	1970
SERVICE WORKERS (except private household) Census Tract	39	14%	21%	23%
	45	5%	21%	25%
	46	2%	16%	24%
	47A		3%	15%
LABORERS Census Tract	39	5%	10%	14%
	45	2%	6%	11%
	46	1%	6%	8%
	47A		1%	4%
OCCUPATION NOT REPORTED Census Tract	39	1%	12%	
	45	3%	12%	
	46	1%	10%	
	47A		5%	

APPENDIX C

POPULATION DATA

	1940	1950	1960	1970
TOTAL		596,163	938,219	1,232,802
White	403,030	471,397 (79%)	723,182 (77%)	916,130 (74%)
Black	86,302	124,766 (21%)	215,037 (23%)	316,672 (26%)
CENSUS TRACT:	Total			
39	6,848	6,389	6,010	4,822
White	5,748 (84%)	4,859 (76%)	1,176 (30%)	790 (16%)
Black	1,100 (16%)	1,530 (24%)	4,230 (70%)	3,965 (82%)
CENSUS TRACT:	Total			
45	6,689	7,354	8,552	7,634
White	6,555 (98%)	6,852 (93%)	1,796 (21%)	832 (11%)
Black	134 (2%)	459 (7%)	6,726 (79%)	6,771 (89%)
CENSUS TRACT:	Total			
46	6,916	7,636	10,027	12,519
White	6,476 (94%)	7,413 (97%)	2,544 (25%)	564 (5%)
Black	440 (6%)	218 (3%)	7,433 (75%)	11,938 (95%)
CENSUS TRACT:	Total			
47A			7,081	7,663
White			7,003 (99%)	2,175 (28%)
Black			49	5,391 (70%)

APPENDIX D

AGE OF HOMES
1970 Census Tract Figures

CENSUS TRACT:	39	45	46	47A
1969 - March 1970			97 (2%)	35 (1%)
1965 - 1968	40 (2%)	11	246 (5%)	191 (7%)
1960 - 1964	131 (6%)	64 (2%)	767 (16%)	317 (11%)
1950 - 1959	493 (22%)	663 (22%)	1,509 (33%)	1,455 (53%)
1940 - 1949	738 (33%)	1,071 (36%)	990 (21%)	666 (24%)
1939 or earlier	847 (38%)	1,138 (39%)	1,025 (22%)	88 (3%)
TOTAL	2,249	2,947	4,634	2,752

Due to considerations of length, figures regarding persistence, homeownership and other variables that occur in the paper do not appear in the appendices. Therefore in the body of the paper, the United States Census Tract will be cited, although the percentages have been computed by the author based upon the raw data.

For the raw material see:

United States Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of the Population*, (v. 3, Census Tracts, RI-Wis.).

United States Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of the Population and Housing*, Census Tracts, (56-65).

United States Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of the Population and Housing*, Census Tracts, (89-93).