

THE ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY OF AUSTIN, TEXAS: 1875-1910

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THE ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY OF AUSTIN, TEXAS: 1875-1910

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THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

May, 1986

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INTRODUCTION

Previous researchers have produced a knowledge and understanding of the ethnic settlement patterns in American industrial cities resulting from the unprecedented immigration from Europe and the American South during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, little is known of the patterns in smaller cities, especially those beyond the industrial belt, in what were preindustrial backwaters of the country at that time. These smaller urban centers received their share of immigrants, and while the newcomers were numerically fewer, one cannot assume that their impact on the social and economic hierarchy, or on the morphology of the towns, was less. In an attempt to learn more about past ethnic settlement in smaller American cities, an area of research virtually ignored until now, this study will explore the early ethnic residential patterns in Austin, Texas. The purpose will be to view the initial patterns and see if they prevailed, or were altered by, changes that occurred in the city during the third of a century spanning the years 1875-1910, a formative period in the city's development. Comparison will be made

among various ethnic groups, and Austin will be compared to the larger cities. Six groups will be considered: the Jews, Swedes, Irish, Mexicans, Germans and blacks.

In American cities which were expanded by large immigrant populations in the nineteenth century, people settled close to those of the same ethnic or national background through choice, expediency or external pressure. Within a few generations, however, populations shifted, and while some groups became more firmly entrenched in segregated neighborhoods, others dispersed and became greatly acculturated within the larger community. Cities of the Northeast and Midwest, some transformed over and over again by waves of immigrants, offer the most obvious comparison models for Austin, but they are not the only valid ones. Reaching beyond the boundaries of the United States, there are parallels with the post-colonial primate cities of the developing world, with European cities that were once the hubs of empires, and perhaps even with the traditional cities of the Middle East.

In studying Austin, I will seek to determine the degree of clustering demonstrated by various groups. Next, the variation between the different groups needs to be investigated. Did each group set out to form a segregated

neighborhood, or did some choose to try and acculturate from the start? What factors determined this? To what extent did the patterns within each group change the morphology of Austin during the period under study? By the end of the period, on the eve of World War I, was the clustering denser among American ethnics -- the blacks and Mexicans -- than it was among European immigrants? Put more directly, by 1910 could the word 'race' supplant 'ethnic' in describing segregated residential settlement?

While these questions are applicable in a general way to studies of urban ethnic settlement, the choice of Austin introduces three further factors. The first is that Austin, capital of the State of Texas, had virtually no industrial base. While most Europeans and later the southern blacks were drawn to the manufacturing belt with its seemingly insatiable job market, Austin manufactured little more than ice and candy. The economy rested on the service sector, catering to the offices running the State. Additionally, there was work for those less directly involved on state operations, such as builders and their accompanying artisans and craftsmen, merchants and service personnel. If this study reveals that patterns of ethnic settlement were similar to larger industrialising cities, the hypothesis that

particular groups settled closer together to fit occupational niches provides only a single possible explanation, not the whole answer.

Secondly, most studies on urban ethnicity tend to focus on just one or several groups, sometimes showing major dichotomies. In viewing the progress of six groups attempting to enter the American mainstream, a patchwork of variables emerges. These reach beyond the spatial core on which the study centers, and include societal, cultural, economic and even psychological aspects. In addition, taking an in-depth look at two dates rather than a single one illustrates the processes of ethnic change. The third uncommon aspect in singling out Austin is attitudinal. Elsewhere in the United States the arrival of immigrants posed occupational and social threats and generated hostility. While the process of acculturation often reduced hostility, in other cases it lingered. Did Austin, as a smaller center, experience such animosities towards immigrant groups?

The choice of city is easily explained, but the dates of the study need to be justified. Enough has been written to know that a generation generally allows acculturation, the midway point for immigrants on their path to assimilation, though full assimilation is not achieved

universally. The 1870s were extremely active years for the urban expansion brought about by immigration from Europe and migration of southern blacks displaced by the Civil War. In 1875 a private census was taken in Austin, providing a natural starting point for this study. Thirty-five years later, in 1910, the United States Census coincided with a comprehensive edition of the Austin city directory, and these three documents, together with abundant other primary data, provide a sound data base.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LITERATURE OF URBAN ETHNICITY

The migration from Europe to the United States during the last century resulted from deteriorating political and economic conditions. While catalytic happenings like the potato famine in Ireland during the 1840s, and the rise of ethnic nationalism in the Austro-Hungarian empire provided benchmarks, they were also indicative of a broadening malaise that provoked a need for radical change.

The "pull" factors of the migration were easy to discern. Even though by the middle of the nineteenth century the myth of El Dorado that had lured the Spaniards to Latin American was too ingenuous for popular acceptance, fascinating accounts by travelers, the expectation of political and religious freedom, and economic opportunity proved highly seductive. In addition, the impact of the Industrial Revolution, showing the viability of an urban lifestyle, appealed. Money did not flow freely among potential emigrants and the cost of transportation was beyond the reach of many. The decision to leave was tempered by the human need to

retain cultural, religious and familial memories, which was reflected in the resultant settlement patterns. Ethnic clustering prevails today in the United States as can be seen among successive waves of newcomers like the Cubans and Vietnamese.

Beside the comfort nearness engenders, material advantages can accrue. Although continuing to speak one's mother tongue rather than English might impede acculturation, the benefits of familiar surroundings outweigh this handicap. Cultural trappings such as dress, recreational preferences and diet, shared religious affiliation and child rearing were important to new immigrants. Also, it was easier to find accommodation through networks established by each group, and new immigrants often lodged temporarily with those who had learned the new ways and could pass them on. The literature shows repeatedly how and why clustering occurred, with occupational, psychological and economic choice predominating, as well as racial and political motives playing a part. Above all, it was easier to find work. In a study of Philadelphia, Greenberg contended that the quest for occupations was a more potent motivation for residential choice than a desire for ethnic or national closeness (Greenberg, 1981, 267-314). In spite of her assessment,

however, broader evidence supports ethnicity as the primary selector, though occupation was surely significant too. In any event, finding jobs was of paramount importance whichever way one chose to tackle the search. The corollary of this argument is that occupations tended to attract specific ethnic dominance. Geographer David Ward suggested clearly defined ethnic involvement in certain occupations. He stated that among first generation immigrants the Irish "found employment in the warehouses and terminal facilities they had helped to build, while the German immigrants worked in the sewing machine and consumer supply trades, which were housed in the upper stories of warehouses... [the Italians] ... in part replaced the Irish as general laborers and were attracted to distributing fresh food from the central wholesale markets. Jewish immigrants, equipped with long experience in the handicraft industries and the local commercial life of Eastern Europe, quickly developed many branches of merchandising at a time when the retail and wholesale segments of marketing were firmly established as distinct and specialized areas in the central business district" (Ward, 1971; p. 108).

Urban clustering also provided the possibility for political strength. Simon's study of the predominantly

Polish 14th Ward in Milwaukee, for example, revealed that economic upgrading was made possible by the political clout of the Polish Community (Simon, 1976, 435-458). Ulf Hannertz demonstrated how ethnicity supplied a unique resource, a pool of participants ready to be guided or led in their new surroundings. He cited the growth of entrepreneurial crime among southern Italians, and saw the ensuing cohesion, recruitment and protection as less wholesome manifestations of the resource pool (Hannertz, 1974, p. 51).

The residential pattern for some ethnic and national groups was determined by prejudices which reduced the freedom of choice. For example, blacks struggled to rise from the lowest economic echelons. The black experience and to some extent that of Hispanics, has been compounded by additional characteristics linked with ethnic clustering: the lack of job opportunities fostered by preconceived stereotyping, overcrowded dwellings with morbid living conditions, and the inability to integrate with host populations because of the animosity incurred by their low status and physical appearance.

Ward, a leading student of urban ethnic geography in nineteenth century America, has drawn attention to several features apparent since the tide of immigration to American

cities began. His work has focused on the large, industrial cities where modern transportation systems have been a key to explaining their morphology. Mechanized transport and the necessary roads permitted the rich to move from increasingly congested and unpleasant central locations to the suburban peripheries. Services, while becoming available in the suburbs, were inadequate for the enormous population living in converted middle-class homes, tenements, or alley houses. Ward's careful differentiation of living conditions among various groups, their relative susceptibility to disease and infant mortality, supplies enough insight to challenge the more usual observations that indignities and squalor were absolute and unavoidable (Ward, 1982, 257-275; 1968, 343-359).

Several distinguishing stages describe immigrant behavior. Sequent occupation, the succession of one group of migrants after another in a neighborhood, has been one of the most distinctive features of urban growth. An account of Boston's Chinatown reveals the successive presence of Irish, Central European Jews, Italians and Syrians before the Chinese became dominant about 1950 (Morphey, 1952).

Other cities, though not reaching the magnitude of the industrial giants, nonetheless had considerable ethnic

diversity. In discussing ethnic settlement in St. Louis, when it was a far smaller city than it is today, Margaret Lo Piccolo Sullivan found that by 1840 four enduring patterns were evident: a tendency for groups to settle in certain parts of the city, considerable residential mobility, diluted but expanded ethnic neighborhoods, and rare ethnic ghettos (defined as heavy concentrations persisting over a generation) before 1920 (Sullivan, 1977, p. 69). Her study tracks the progress of Irish, German, and Jewish immigrants in St. Louis, showing how fortunes of one group or another changed over the generations, and how despite the earlier settlement of the Irish, the Germans soon superseded them numerically and had skills which afforded higher social status. By the turn of this century, however, Sullivan notes that the Irish were well represented in the building trades and teaching, and later took positions as bankers and clergymen. She refers also to the changing black community. Living as slaves in the French village that was the foundation of the later city, they comprised about a third of the population in 1800, decreased to two per cent by 1860, and then rose steeply in the 1920s. She contends that this was when heavy clusterings of single groups became evident, as blacks left the farms for city jobs.

In her study of mid-nineteenth century Milwaukee, later known as a German city, Kathleen Conzen points out that other Europeans also chose to settle here (Conzen, 1979). In drawing attention to the settlement patterns she suggests that although there was ethnic separation from early on, it might be termed 'congregation' rather than 'segregation'. There were, however, inter-ethnic slums which could be termed 'ghettoes' by the end of the century. Conzen deemed the development of separate neighborhoods as valuable for the native-born as well as for immigrants: "It was within the context of their neighborhoods that city dwellers made their adjustment to the urban environment; it was there that they found friends, went to school, attended church, shopped, voted, and in many cases worked" (Conzen, 1979; p. 145).

TRADITIONAL URBAN MODELS

Traditional urban models identify residential patterns in a formal geographic context. To interpret the spatial context of these patterns one may refer to three models, all developed to explain the morphology of growing northern industrial cities. In 1925, Ernest

Burgess proposed a model featuring concentric growth zones around the central business district. New immigrant groups residentially ringed the CBD, and successive zones accommodated the more settled and affluent (Burgess, 1925; 1928). Basing the theory of centripetal movement on his experience of Chicago, he demonstrated clearly how the changes brought about by industrialization, such as extensive building development and technological advances in transportation, produced a wholly different residential environment. One change involved improvements in the infrastructure which altered the negative connotation of 'peripheral' to the positive term 'suburban'. As late as the 1920s the Poles, Lithuanians, Greeks, Italians and Chinese lived in the near-central region between the edge of the industrial belt and the residential sections. Immigrants, eager for jobs within walking distance of their homes, crowded into this area surrounding the CBD. Burgess saw the concentric zones accommodating the poorest newcomers, then the established working class, the middle-class and finally the upper class on the outskirts or widest zone band. The simplicity of his model did not provide for the stratification within each ethnic division.

A few years later, Homer Hoyt hypothesized that new urban settlers, after initially clustering in a central

area for the sake of job availability, moved outwards in a pie-shaped wedge pattern, so that the original cluster was extended rather than dispersed (Hoyt, 1939). Recognizing stratification within groups is highly important, but has received little attention. Margaret Lo Piccolo Sullivan's study of St. Louis supported Hoyt's model. She wrote: "While ethnic groups in north St. Louis moved west or northwest, those on the south side formed widening triangular patterns to the south and west of the areas of original settlement. As a result, foreign-born populations living in census tracts along the city's borders in 1930 bore a diluted, but easily recognizable, relationship to the corresponding river-front wards of 1910" (Sullivan, 1977; p.75).

Chauncy Harris and Edward Ullman introduced the third popular urban model, suggesting multiple nuclei rather than a single, unchallenged CBD (Harris & Ullman, 1945). Their theory recognized the confusion in the burgeoning, industrialized cities, and noted that rather than a single hub continuing to expand, beyond a certain point it seemed preferable to start over in a new area, and allow that area and subsequent ones to grow.

Simpler than any of those addressing modern cities, Sjoberg considered the pre-industrial city (Sjoberg, 1960). His model showed the rich preferring to settle in the most

central area. This was closest to amenities which, in the distant past, included the granary and protection afforded by the garrison and the city walls. In the more recent past this referred to the area best policed and served by municipal improvements. The less fortunate were bound to live further out in areas where life was more arduous and less comfortable. Only with the ills that industrialization introduced to city living did the reversal begin to occur. The desirable center became a zone of noise and air pollution, overcrowded and dirty, crumbling and impoverished; thus many who could afford to leave did so. Need and ingenuity met, leading to improved transportation, utilities and infrastructure.

Each of the four models introduces a simple statement, but the simplification, provided it is recognized, does not detract from the value. Their importance in this study is to determine whether the conceptual morphology is affected by transferring the models to a small city from their original utilization to explain larger cities, and also to see if the variables of economy and ethnicity are, in fact, a single variable. Burgess determined his model on the variable of economics; money or potential money earning ability determined land usage. Hoyt recognized a human

element. He saw that clustering continued and was reinforced as a greater land area was taken in, that the pattern did not dissipate or diminish. On one level Harris and Ullman were remarkably foresighted. They developed their model in the 1940s before the country's major highway development started. They predicted, in actuality if not in words, the clusters surrounding shopping centers and commercial and industrial parks which did not become a reality in American cities until two decades later. On another level though, they were introducing to American territory a concept many centuries old. The multiple nuclei, if not always spatially segregated, were certainly psychologically separated in the quarters morphology of Middle Eastern cities. This separateness was also to be seen in the pattern immigrant groups established as they came to this country.

IMMIGRANTS IN SMALLER CITIES

Two studies of smaller urban centers also reveal that ethnic pockets could not be explained solely by job opportunities, nor by external discrimination, but probably in some considerable measure by a desire to hold on to cultural distinctiveness. Both studies describe multiple groups (Leonard, 1977; Chudakoff, 1973).

Omaha, a city founded by urban speculators in the mid-nineteenth century, was comparable to Austin in that both places were established despite there being little primary activity or industry (Chudakoff, 1973). An outfitting post for westward bound pioneers, trappers and gold seekers, Omaha became the eastern terminus of the transcontinental railroad in 1863. The Irish, who arrived there through the 1870s, diffused throughout the city, unlike their kinsmen in Atlantic coast ghettos. Germans, Danes, Swedes and Hungarians likewise scattered, but the Czechs inexplicably clustered. Russian Jews, living within easy distance of one of the two synagogues, still contrived to scatter. In 1880 a third of the 30,000 inhabitants of the city were foreign born, well over twice the national average, which, that year, revealed that 13.3% of the population in the country was foreign-born and 13.8% were native whites of foreign or mixed parentage (U.S. 10th Census, 1880; Vol. 1).

In the last years of the nineteenth century, Irish, German, Canadian and English immigrants settled in Denver. Stephen Leonard shows how social position affected their residential location (Leonard, 1977). Although no single-group ghettos appeared, by 1890 two of the nine city wards

had over one third foreign born, and five had between 23% and 26%. The Germans, who had made real estate and property investments since the 1860s, were richer than the other groups, as in Austin, and maintained close bonds with each other. They "exercised together, prayed together, sang together, often drank together, celebrated holidays together, and not uncommonly or unexpectedly patronized, hired, elected and married their conationalists" (Leonard, 1977; p. 133). Unlike the Irish who "could not afford to venture west of Brooklyn or Boston" (Leonard, 1977; p. 136), those who managed to get as far west as Denver were not cursed with abject poverty. Ethnic recognition persisted even though rarely to the exclusion of other groups. Resolute segregation, reflected in residential settlement in the North, as between Germans and blacks in Boston, only occasionally surfaced in smaller cities.

ATTITUDINAL DIFFERENCES IN LITERATURE

In searching for materials on the six groups chosen for this study, the lion's share has been found to center on Jews and blacks, with a fair amount on Germans and Irish, very little on Swedes and, only in more recent decades,

a growing amount on Mexicans. A number of histories of the Jewish population in individual cities exists, and in several instances these are published dissertations. Others are more haphazard and anecdotal but have a valuable place in the larger picture, presenting in sum an excellent account of urban Jewish life in the United States (Berman, 1979; Friedman, 1983; Gartner, 1978; Gurock, 1979; Hertzberg, 1970; Kallison, 1977; Raphael, 1979; Reznikoff and Engleman, 1950; Rischin, 1962). These accounts tend to dwell on the pursuit and achievement of success.

Black studies dwell much more on failure and reveal complex and shifting spatial patterns (Morrill, 1965; Davis and Donaldson, 1975; Kusmer, 1976). In the South, the post-bellum segregation of blacks paralleled that of immigrants and native born in the North, and similarly the separation was social rather than physical, with several groups sharing neighborhoods though in different degrees of economic comfort. A study of New Orleans illustrates the fluctuating situation for blacks determined by the prevailing political mood, noting the several social strata that existed within the black community before and after the Civil War, and after the introduction of Jim Crow in the 1890s (Spain, 1976).

However, enforced segregation of blacks is largely a phenomenon of the twentieth century. John Kellogg, who compared Lexington, Kentucky; Atlanta, Georgia; Durham, North Carolina; and Richmond, Virginia; defined four types of black settlement after the Civil War (Kellogg, 1977). These included back alley dwellings, out of the way street residences near the homes of white owners, communities housing skilled freedmen, and peripheral shanty towns. Black shotgun houses still stand in sight of the Alabama governor's mansion in Montgomery. "Urban clusters, most of which were formed between 1865 and 1880, constitute the inner core of the contemporary Negro residential community" (Kellogg, 1977; p. 320). John Radford distinguished micro-segregation, meaning separation by lot or block settlement, and macro-segregation, involving the "exclusive occupation of whole sections of the city by a particular group" (Radford, 1976; p. 330). The two most prominent patterns of black urban residential settlement which preceded ghettoization were the outlying squatter encampments, not unlike those in contemporary third world cities, and the alley communities, as found in Washington, D C. Here, the 1860 United States census revealed physical integration interwoven with social and economic segregation. Over a hundred black families "lived in the hidden alleyways,

effectively separated from whites of the city. Thus, while blacks were found in virtually every part of the city, they tended to cluster in small groups in the core and to form enclaves outside it" (Borchert, 1980; p. 6).

Differing levels of urbanization and economic sophistication affect the integration of minority groups into the larger community. Among some urban groups, residential clustering as the result of migration is a temporary measure, but when it continues beyond an initial transition period, and the social separation is total, it becomes, in my view, an aberration. The cultural diversity of a community, and the desire to maintain traditions to avoid rejecting the past is understandable, but when segregation is forced by external pressure, the sweetness of memories is obscured. Where cities grow without abrupt additions, the established population may deliberately enforce separation to bolster its own control, to levy discriminatory taxes more easily, and to ward off a threat to its hegemony. Such action, I believe, can send an introspective shudder through immigrant communities, destroying or at least delaying efforts to introduce and blend into their own lifestyle trappings drawn from the host culture.

POST-COLONIAL CITIES; THE DEVELOPING WORLD AND EUROPE

In countries now suffering the aftermath of colonialism, the criterion of wealth generally determines urban residential location. The urgency to find jobs drives rural people toward metropolitan centers today in the same way impoverished Europeans headed into cities of North America a century ago. The tenements and slums of the major cities in the United States at the time of the great migrations are comparable with modern squatter settlements, the favelas and bidonvilles of the developing world. The main difference is that the nineteenth century slums were central, and today's are both central and peripheral. Yujnovsky's description of present day urban Latin America might well be a description of Austin a hundred years ago. In smaller cities "studies have confirmed the general position of the upper stratum at the city center, surrounded by middle-income groups and finally lower-income strata in a peripheral location at low density. Provision of services and utilities decreases from center to the periphery" (Yujnovsky, 1975; p. 211). Langton makes the same point in writing about seventeenth century Britain where "Urban society was segregated by wealth or status, with the rich of powerful living near to the centre and the poor and powerless on the periphery of the cities

before industrialization or modernization" (Langton, 1975).

Cities in Kenya, challenged by the ceaseless influx from the countryside, reflect persistent residential clustering patterns of African tribes, as well as European and Asian groups. "At the professional level the races work together easily enough and in Nairobi offices, shows or hotels, Africans, Asians and Europeans mix. In their homes, though, they keep largely to their separate groups" (Arnold, 1981;p.4). From a liberal vantage point today, this form of Kenyan apartheid is distasteful, but Isak Dinesen, who owned a coffee plantation in the hills above Nairobi some eighty years ago, recorded racial separation as natural.

The Swaheli town, on the road to the Muthaiga Club, had not a good name in any way, but it was a lively, dirty and gaudy place, with, at any hour, a number of things going on in it. It was built mostly of old paraffin tins hammered flat, in various stages of rust, like the coral rock, the fossilized structure, from which the spirit of the advancing civilization was steadily fleeing.

The Somali town was farther away from Nairobi, on account, I think, of the Somali's system of seclusion of their women...The Somalis' houses were irregularly strewn on bare ground, and looked as though they had been nailed together with a bushel of four-inch nails to last for a week. Again, she noted: The Indians of Nairobi dominated the big Native business quarter of the Bazaar, and the great Indian merchants had their little villas just outside the town (Dinesen, 1937;p.12).

While settlement in the cities formerly under European rule is patterned by economic considerations, in Europe itself ethnicity or race is significant even in the modern residential pattern. Though citing contemporary residential patterns of West Indian and Asian immigrants in the United Kingdom may seem a far-fetched comparison for nineteenth century Austin, it illustrates the status of racially different minorities, and shows how the phenomenon bridges time and space. Immigrants in Britain after World War II received a less than cordial reception, and while cultural differences and the threat the newcomers posed on the job market (for jobs previously regarded as unacceptable by Britons themselves), are cited as reasons for the animosity, racism

is irrefutable. Hostilities have festered and broken open across the country in the past thirty-five years, centering on London and the industrial cities of the Midlands and the North of England.

For the West Indians, coming from the impoverished Caribbean Islands, migration to Britain seemed the only viable way to ensure a livelihood. In the late 1940s and early 1950s their arrival in Britain exacerbated the housing shortage caused by massive property destruction in World War II as well as the subsequent higher birthrate (Rex, 1976; Jones, 1976). Families often arrived in England penniless, sought kin with whom they could lodge, then rented for themselves as the opportunity arose. Cultural differences and their extreme penury alienated neighbors. Landlords charged exorbitant rents, which led to severe overcrowding, and brought about the destruction of one neighborhood after another.

By contrast, Indians and Pakistanis viewed their stay in the United Kingdom as temporary. They came "with the firm intention of returning home where they hope to enjoy the fruits of their labour in retirement. That is, the immigrants consider themselves to be transients and not settlers" (Dahya, 1974; p. 83). Furthermore, they choose to

retain cultural separation. "Cultural isolationism has been bolstered by adherence to language and religion and by the device of self-segregation, both social and spatial" (Aldrich et al., 1981; p. 175). Despite their sense of transiency many Asians bought homes (Jones, 1979). Unlike the West Indians, Asians made few applications for public housing, asking instead: "What is the status of a fifteen shilling tenant? Does anyone respect him?" (Dahya, 1974; p. 97). Asian migrants to Britain formed mutual aid groups, and housed family and the friends of their benefactors when they arrived in the country. Their houses, usually in older, rundown neighborhoods, provoked criticism more often than sympathy, though "The assessment of 'poor' housing is clearly an ethnocentric one imposed from outside, rather than representative of its value to the immigrants themselves" (Jones, 1979; p. 180).

Besides the United Kingdom, other West European countries have been confronted by the backlash of colonialism. France has had to accommodate North Africans, mostly Algerians, who fled restrictions under new leaderships. The Netherlands were faced with refugees from Indonesia at the close of World War II, and later from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. Hundreds of thousands of migrant workers arrived from the

Mediterranean, especially from Morocco, Spain, Yugoslavia and Turkey, bringing problems which have complicated integration into the indigenous community. In an article on Rotterdam, Ger Mik indicates that a higher degree of segregation accompanies a lower income and educational level. "Concentration has occurred in the older districts dating from about 1900, where there were already many large housing problems" (Mik, 1983; p. 75). Prejudices have developed, though these are greater in the areas of medium segregation than in high or low segregation areas.

Relevant comparisons with ethnic residential patterns in nineteenth century Austin may perhaps also be found in traditional Middle Eastern cities. There, separate quarters originally housed the ruling class, military personnel, refugees, and those following different religions and trades, not unlike the segmentation that developed in American cities. For example, Ben-Arieh records that in Jerusalem "The concentration of the Christian population in a separate quarter, and the subdivision of the quarter into blocks according to sects, seem to have developed primarily from the desire of the members of each sect to stick together as much as possible" (Ben-Arieh, 1976; p. 50). Costello views clustering as desirable, and tending to occur through external effort.

He identifies two processes generating and sustaining clusters: "one is the help given by established immigrants in finding homes for immigrant relatives and friends near their own dwellings. The second is the maintenance of ethnic solidarity as a form of migrant adjustment to urban life" (Blake, 1977; p.71). Despite the desirability of elective clustering, as rural people migrated to North African cities the pattern was not always feasible. In Sale, the city across the river from Morocco's capital, Rabat, the situation described by Ken Brown was presumably not unique. He suggests, "People brought together by residential proximity did not share a common identity or feel any solidarity on that basis," and indicates that despite families and friends sharing a "wish to live near-by one another for purposes of convenience...they rarely managed to do so. Most nuclear families established a new home...wherever they could, depending on availability of property" (Brown, 1976; p. 39).

Having outlined ethnic residential patterns in other places and other centuries, it is fit to turn to an analysis of Austin, tracing its history from the time of its establishment as capital of the Republic of Texas in 1839 until 1910, shortly before the exigencies of the Great War revealed that a changed social order had spread through Europe and North America and was spreading eastwards from Europe's

borders. We must bear in mind, however, that we deal with a small southern or western American city, for which the existing literature on urban ethnicity provides few examples. We tread upon new ground.

... The first task undertaken by William G. ... of the ... and ... side a ... in which to establish a ... the Trinity ... five ... agreed on the ... on the ... They ... Austin for ... Stephen F. Austin.

... location because of its attractive ... We found the ... reference to ... existing ... its ... perhaps a ... and ... be found in the ... and we were of the opinion that the ... respect to

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF AUSTIN

The origins of a city, and the changes through which it passes as it develops, help account for the kind of settlers who choose it as their home. One of the first tasks undertaken by Mirabeau B. Lamar, when elected president of the short-lived Republic of Texas in 1839, was to commission a search for a centrally-located place in which to establish a capital. Charged to look in the interior, between the Trinity and San Antonio rivers, his five-man commission agreed on the site of Waterloo, an existing small settlement on the lower Colorado River (Figure 2.1). They named it Austin for the "father of Texas", empresario Stephen F. Austin.

Lamar's commission chose the location because of its attractive topography, soils and location. "We found the Brassos River more central perhaps in reference to actual existing population, and found in it and its tributaries perhaps a greater quantity of fertile lands than are to be found on the Colorado, but on the other hand we were of the opinion that the Colorado was more central in respect to

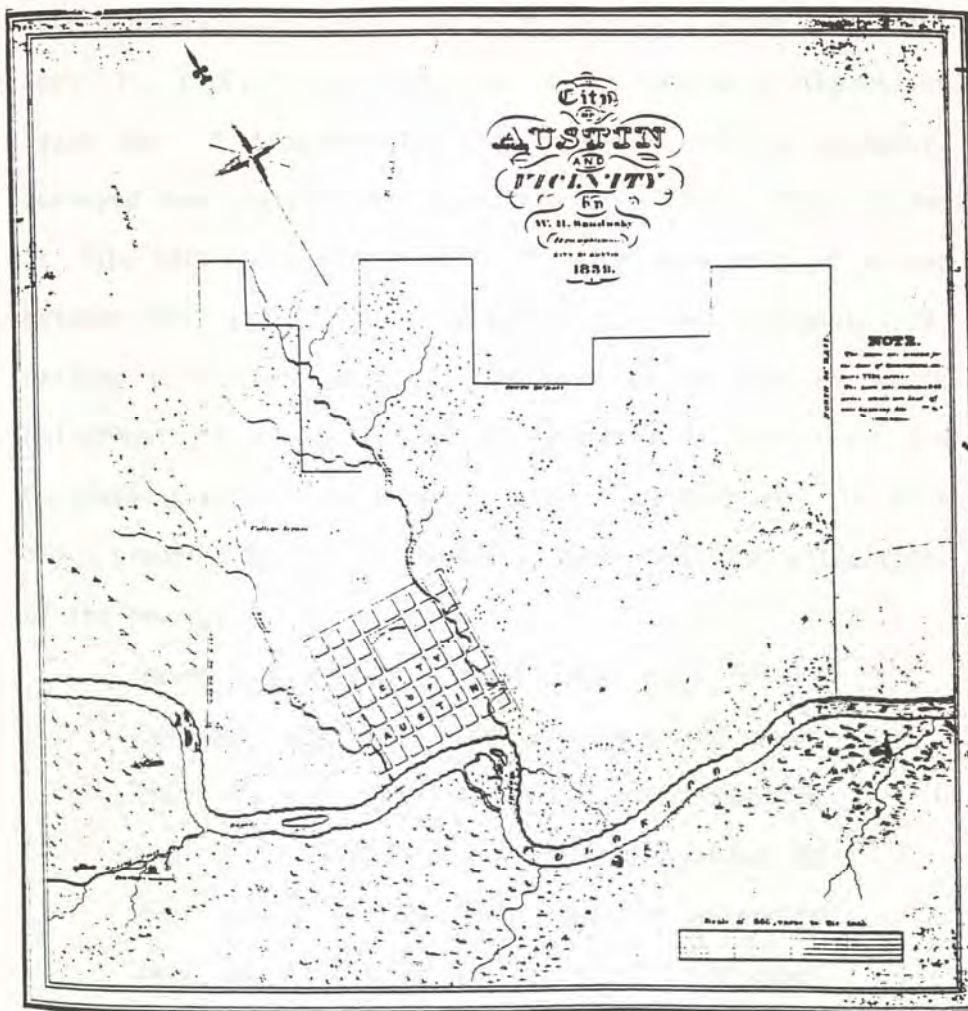


Figure 2.1. William Sandusky's map of Austin, 1939.
Austin History Collection

Territory, and this in connection with the great desideratums of health, fine water, stone coal, water power and, being more abundant and convenient..." (Sandusky letter to Lamar, April 15, 1839). Judge Edwin Waller, a veteran of the recent Texas War of Independence, and surveyor William Sandusky, surveyed and platted the one-mile square site. They divided it into 640 lots, almost half of which were sold at prices between \$200 and \$2,700 at a public auction in August 1839, raising sufficient funds to cover most of the cost of public buildings. A single lot at the junction of 6th Street and Congress Avenue, the area in highest demand even to this day, brought \$2,800. Sandusky described the attractions of the new capital in a letter:

Austin is situated on the east bank of the Colorado, 40 miles from Bastrop--and about three miles from the Colorado mountains and on a beautiful rich prairie about 40 feet above the level of the River extending back one half mile to the 'Bluff' and gradually rising to 60, or 70, feet, where is placed the Public Square (15 acres), with an avenue rising up from the river--of 120 feet wide, through a narrow valley which

appears as if made by nature expressly for this noble purpose. The Lots are layed, streets and alleys wide, and the several public squares, and lots for the Government Buildings, selected with good taste, by the Agent Judge Waller, who is now engaged in putting up the necessary buildings for Congress, &c. Two beautiful streams of limestone water flow through the upper and lower parts of the town, taking their source in the hills from Springs which can by little expense be conducted to any part of the city. Stone for building purposes can be had in and near the city. Timber for building is rather scarce in the immediate vicinity (except on the opposite side of the river) but within six or eight miles there is an abundance. The river averages from 60 to 70 yards wide or a deep but rapid current, and can be made navigable by removing a few shoals, for Steam Boats of medium size, to the falls five miles above the town.

The Colorado mountains about three miles North West, from College Hill (in the rear of the town) are covered with Scrubby Live Oak, Cedar, and cliffs of rock, which present a delightful appearance (Sandusky letter to Jewett, August, 1839).

Set out in a grid pattern, Austin was bounded on the east and west by the two "streams of limestone water", respectively Waller Creek and Shoal Creek. The banks of the river, with their flood and disease risks, were less inviting to wealthy residents than the bluffs further north, a factor reflected from the start in the pattern of settlement. The streets paralleling the creeks were named after the rivers of the State, from Sabine in the east to Rio Grande in the west. Intersecting these, streets bore the names of indigenous or familiar trees, such as Pine, Pecan, Bois d'Arc and Hickory; these arboreal names were changed to numbers in 1889. A measure of elegance was added by the 200 feet wide Congress Avenue, which led up from the Colorado River to the site of the eventual capitol on 12th Street (Figure 2.2).

When Texas was admitted to the Union in 1845, Austin retained its status as capital, though only provisionally

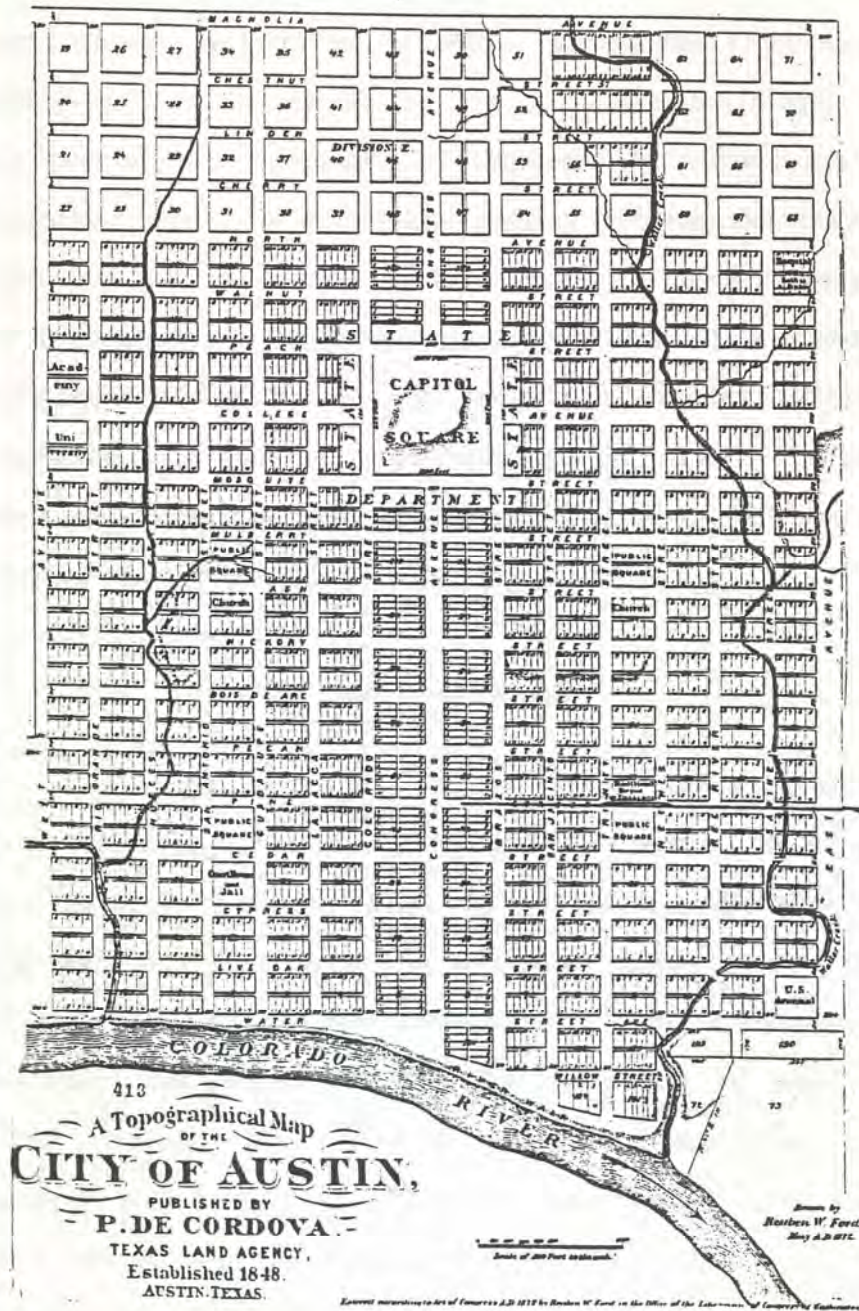


Figure 2.2. Topographical map of Austin, 1939.
Austin History Collection

until formal designation in 1870. During the first decade double-log houses served as the executive buildings, and the capitol was surrounded by stockades to protect against Comanche raids. A missionary passing through the city in 1849, on her way South to the border to convert Mexicans to Protestantism, indicated the persistence of a frontier atmosphere. "Austin is not remarkable for its religious character, nor for its superabundance of refined society. The population has been hitherto fluctuating, and composed of a variety of grades" (Rankin, 1966; p. 154).

EARLY IMMIGRANTS

In 1850 the first United States census taken in Texas recorded 423 heads of household in Austin, 24 of whom were German, 12 Irish, three Swiss, and a single Frenchman and Mexican, the latter surprisingly named Lewis Archer. An earlier census had been taken by Amos Roark, a Presbyterian minister, ten years before. The assemblage of people he noted included "Seventy-five families, population eight hundred and fifty-six, of which seven hundred and eleven were whites and one hundred and forty-five blacks -- five hundred and fifty grown men, sixty-one ladies, one hundred children, seventy-seven of which are large enough to go

to school; seventy-three professors of religion -- seventeen Methodists, twelve Presbyterians, five Cumberland Presbyterians, eleven Episcopalians, ten Baptists and ten Roman Catholics; two organized churches -- one Methodist and one Presbyterian; two Methodist preachers, one Cumberland Presbyterian and one Baptist preacher; one Sabbath school, one week day school, thirty-five mechanics, four lawyers, six doctors, six inns, nine stores, nine groceries, one billiard table, six faro banks, twenty gamblers, two silver-smith shops, two printing offices and two tailor shops" (Gray & Moore, 1872; p. 11).

Lots outside the city started to attract buyers, and during the 1840s a limestone building replaced the wooden capitol. This burned down in 1881, and was replaced by the present pink granite one. In 1856 the city acquired Oakwood cemetery beyond the northeast edge of town, and the issue of ethnicity may be seen in the cemetery records. Pages of 'unknown negro infants' are recorded, as well as an unknown Negro man, Old Tom, who was buried in 1867, an Unknown Negro, Mary Jane, (1868) and remarkably, in view of the small number in the community, an unknown Norwegian child (1877) and Chinaman (1888) (city cemetery records; Austin Public Library).

By 1860, with the population at almost 4,000, Austin had become a viable city in its own right, no longer merely a small town grouped around a few state buildings. The Eighth United States Census enumerated 2,505 whites, 12 free blacks, and 977 slaves in Austin (8th United States Census, Vol. 1, p. 486).

A full 16% of the people claimed to be of German birth, and there were several Swedish and Irish settlers among the numerically dominant upland southern Anglos. Four Frenchmen, a merchant, gardener, painter and restaurateur had found reasons to settle. There were three Mexican families, and loners from such disparate countries as Norway, Cuba, Hungary, Denmark, Switzerland and Russia (U.S. census manuscript population schedules, 1860).

The Civil War, besides the many other hardships it caused, delayed the arrival of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad to Austin until the last week of 1871, and no doubt inhibited the city's growth. Even so, there was enough building undertaken to see the beginnings of a middle-class neighborhood on the west side of Congress Avenue between Sixth Street and the capitol in Ward 2. Here John Bremond, first a grocer then a banker, built three houses for his children and their spouses. The houses,

and others for additional relatives, were known as the Bremond block, and standing between 7th and 8th Streets, Guadalupe and San Antonio Streets. All the cousins played together in a protected, communal yard behind the houses. The block remains intact today, though the buildings are no longer private houses.

THE 1870s: A DECADE OF EXPANSION

In the 1870s a mood of serious expansion gripped the city. The population began to swell as thousands headed West. Some decided to put down roots here as their wagons passed through Austin. They came from Georgia, Arkansas, Tennessee and the Carolinas, as well as from Europe. "The volume of white immigration is the most precious of all our importations..." wrote the editor of a local newspaper (Daily Democratic Statesman, January 5, 1875, p. 2, col. 1). The first city directory in 1872 listed several churches, schools, newspapers, civic offices, masonic and other social groups, though, by its own recognizance, the information it supplied was incomplete.

The Directory contains about fourteen hundred names, and as six inhabitants for every single name is considered a low estimate,

it can be assumed that the total population of Austin amounts to about 8,500. It must not be forgotten, however, that this estimate does not include our large colored population, for, as a general thing, it has been found impossible to number them or fix their habitations. In many instances a single room or shanty is made to contain ten or more of them, large and small; and as they do not abide in any location for any great length of time, we have generally omitted the names of all except those who have a local habitation and occupation (City Directory, 1872; p. 4).

Black squatter settlements mushroomed on the periphery of the city, especially east of Waller Creek where early freedman encampments merged into a single, heavier concentration reaching out to the French legation, a heritage from the Republic. In 1875, the date singled out as the starting point for this study, a city water company was incorporated, headquartered down by the River, with pumps active at the creeks on each side of the city. Replacements or additions were made to existing institutional buildings and new churches appeared.

The new jail and jailer's residence, the residence containing seven rooms and the jail containing twenty-four iron cages, capable of accommodating 100 prisoners will cost \$92,000. Fifty men are at work on these buildings.

The new lunatic asylum, a three-story rock building, is nearly completed. It will contain about twenty-one rooms and halls, with all modern conveniences. This fine establishment will cost \$34,000.

State work on the Deaf and Dumb Asylum -- new stone stable, new brick kitchen, and repairs -- amounts to \$9,000. New slate roof on Land Office, and outside plastering, will cost \$4,000.

The Catholic Church, on which a large force is now at work, and which will be one of the grandest religious edifices in the State, will cost from \$80,000 to \$100,000.

New First Presbyterian Church, built of stone, Norman style of architecture, cost \$25,000 (Austin Democratic Statesman, June 13, 1875, p. 3, cols. 2 and 3).

As a precaution against fire, wooden buildings were banned within a block of either Congress Avenue or 6th Street. Despite this care, banker Eugene Bartholomew, whose diaries from 1857-1923 provide a fascinating picture of Austin's development, spent plenty of time watching fires in the city and attending funerals. Arrangements were carried out for the first State Agricultural Fair on a 300-acre site to the north of the city. Half a million dollars were tied up in local construction during 1875, and a newspaper article itemized the cost of many residences and commercial structures (Daily Democratic Statesman, June 13, 1875, p. 3, cols. 2-3).

Architect-designed homes, featuring such innovations as gas and water fittings, halls and galleries, cost upwards of \$4,000, but a home with less splendor was available for far less money. Four small brick houses on 12th Street near Waller Creek, for example, cost a total of \$5,000. Land agents and realtors advertised lots ranging from a few hundred to several thousand dollars. Five-acre lots

two miles from Austin, near the railroad fetched \$500 each. A 60' x 125' lot one mile from 6th Street was offered at \$250. A six-acre outlot fronting East Avenue, opposite the Blind Asylum, included a four-room house with cistern and garden for a total of \$6,000. In a more desirable spot, a city lot three blocks west of Congress Avenue, and fronting 5th Street, with a foundation laid ready to accommodate a building, was on the market for \$1,500 (Daily Democratic Statesman, January 16, p. 3, col. 5; March 20, 1875, p. 3, col. 5). By the State fairground, a section was platted and offered for sale to black settlers. "Freedmen desiring homes will do well to secure a location on this beautiful property without delay. As soon as the International Railroad has been completed these lots will prove a good speculation even without improvement (Daily Democratic Statesman), May 18, 1875, p. 3, col. 2). There was pride in the appearance of the city, though a newspaper squib teased, "Deliver us from the glaring, dazzling, blinding influence of white stone walls, white stone and whitewashed houses and fences. Is our beautiful city to be converted into a grand blind asylum?" (Daily Democratic Statesman, June 16, 1875, p. 3, col. 1). The city directory boosted the spirit of expansion, claiming:

The business blocks and private residences of Austin are a source of pride to the citizens and excite the wonder and admiration of strangers. They are all the more astonished when they learn that home material, home capital, home industry and home artists accomplished all this. The visitor to our city asks, where do you get that beautiful stone of which I see hundreds of your buildings are composed? From whence do you derive your supply of lime? It certainly requires skilled labor to chisel this stone into such beautiful forms and place it where it is; capital was required to do all this, who furnished it? (Austin City Directory, 1877-78, p. 32).

So much building indicated a thriving economy, and improved means of getting about town. European immigrants in Austin mostly pursued craft or laboring occupations, with the exception of Jews and a handful of Germans: there were a few of each among the 64 advertisers in the first city directory. Merchandise mentioned in this publication included furniture, groceries, saddles, lumber, liquor and

land, and the services include lawyers, printers, insurance and bankers (Gray and Moore, 1872).

The "places of business" listed in the local paper on 15 October 1877 showed a predominance of retail outlets and a remarkable number of lawyers and physicians (Table 2.1) (Democratic Statesman, October 15, 1877, p. 4). There was no shortage of bar-rooms or butchers either.

ELEMENTS OF MODERNIZATION

Not only expansion but transition into modernity characterized Austin in the 1880s. In 1881 a telephone exchange opened, and telephones were installed in the downtown area. The University of Texas opened its doors in 1883, a belated legacy from Mirabeau Lamar who had ordered 50 leagues of land set aside for each of two universities to be available for the citizens of his Republic. The imposing Driskill Hotel replaced older buildings that were torn down at the corner of 5th and Brazos in 1885.

In 1893 a one million dollar dam was built further west along the River. As well as promising economic benefits, social gatherings abounded beside the lake it created. In June 1893 Austinites staged a 'Grand International Regatta', one in a series of public sports and recreations. On occasion

Table 2.1

Austin Places of Business, 1877

145 retail merchants
79 lawyers
31 doctors
26 butchers, bar-rooms
19 wholesale merchants
11 boarding houses
9 wagon yards and feed stables
7 beer saloons
6 bakeries, restaurants, livery stables
4 hotes, commission houses, lumber yards
3 factories, planing mills
2 breweries, ice factories, foundries, lime depots
1 flour mill, grist mill, gas factory, national bank
waterworks

(Source: Austin Statesman, October 15, 1877, pg. 4)

cyclists chose the dam as the destination of their weekly club outing from the Driskill Hotel.

From the beginning there was incremental expansion of settlement in the city, pockets of housing usually made by the poor near to a water supply, but occasional mansions built by families who could afford private transportation. In 1890 a Kansas speculator bought 200 acres a mile north of the city, and sold it to the M.K. & T. railroad company for development as a self-contained suburb. To attract business, the Company offered lots at three for the price of two, and for several years only actual homeowners were allowed to live there. Grandiosely named Hyde Park after an elegant district of London, the suburb attracted mostly businessmen and clergyman, with a sprinkling of artists and state and local officials. For example, the German sculptress Elisabet Ney, who modeled Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin, lived here. As well as houses, a park and a boating lake supported stylish living, and an innovative new transit system made the area attractive.

Steep hills limited mobility in Austin, until an attempt to grade them began in 1854. The absence of paving was another impediment. In the 1860s the city ordered the owners of new buildings to provide wooden sidewalks, and

a few years later, in 1873, the State Congress authorized store owners to install curbstones as well as sidewalks, and grade the streets in front of their stores so rainwater could run off into gutters. This stabilized the grid pattern of the streets and emphasized the importance of the central business area. Despite improvements, the newspaper commented in 1874 that one could get rich selling stilts to cross Congress Avenue after the rains turned it into mud (Daily Democratic Statesman, September 24, 1874, p. 3, col. 1).

In the 1870s Austin took a big step forward in advancing from a pedestrian to streetcar city (Hooks, 1979). The Austin City Railroad Company, owned by a local doctor, ran mule drawn streetcars along the rail lines at 10 cents a ride (Hooks, 1979). Citizens had hackney carriages available too. The demand for such services indicates the growth of the city and a trend to move from the center. More in-city bridges were built to ford the creeks. Shoal Creek could be crossed at Sixth and Seventh, and Waller Creek at Fifth, Ninth, Tenth and Seventeenth.

Horse and mule-drawn transportation lost popularity as the city adapted to mechanization. In 1891 Hyde Park residents, and those traveling across town to work for them, could ride fifteen miles of electric railway track at an

affordable five cents between each point. The route led from Hyde Park to the cemetery that lay immediately east of the city in an area centering on 15th Street. . It continued south to Comal, through the heart of black East Austin and Robertson Hill, then west on 12th Street before going up Lavaca to the Blind Institute and on back to the terminus. Cars reached Austin streets in 1901, and when the city clerk's office saw fit to begin registering them in 1907, Austin fully entered the age of motorized transport.

For years developers cast their eyes across the Colorado River, seeing that the few who crossed on the early ferries could be multiplied, promising substantial expansion. A pontoon bridge, built in 1869, was washed away by heavy flooding a few months later, and was replaced by a wooden bridge in 1875, encouraging the first subdivision south of the River.

A broader economic base went hand in hand with this new sophistication. Still not an industrial manufacturing center, Austin in 1910 had 7,825 men and 3,354 women employed in the city (Table 2.2). The manufacturing and mechanical industries category employed more than 30% of the men, 575 of them as laborers and almost 400 as carpenters. There were over a hundred builders and building contractors, and

Table 2.2

Occupation Statistics, 1910

<u>Category</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
All occupations	7,825	3,354
Agriculture, forestry & animal husbandry	364	12
Extraction of minerals	8	0
Manufacturing & mechanical industries	2,438	352
Transportation	767	47
Trade	1,754	209
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	255	14
Professional service	692	424
Domestic & personal service	986	2,120
Clerical occupation	561	176

(Source: 13th United States Census, 1910, Vol. 3)

the same number in supplemental building trades like painting and glazing. Despite the increase in railroads and motorized vehicles, the city still found work for 98 blacksmiths and almost 200 under the title 'draymen, teamsters and expressmen'. At the top of the economic ladder, Austin's professionals including 68 physicians, 109 teachers, 127 lawyers and judges and 107 clergymen. Half as many women as men held paid occupations, and of these a full two-thirds were in personal or domestic service -- almost a thousand were laundresses, and a further 787 worked as servants (U.S. 13th census, population schedules, 1910).

The 1910 city directory showed five banks and 53 incorporated companies (Morrison & Fourmy, 1910; p. 43). The 22 labor unions protected musicians, cigarmakers, bartenders, electrical workers, journeymen, barbers, steam engineers and others. It also enumerated industrial and other plants:

These include, among others, two cotton seed oil mills, five planing mills, five auto repairing shops, four branch packing houses, one electric power and light plant (municipal), one large gas manufacturing plant, two compresses, one flour mill and elevator, two carriage and wagon factories,

three machine shops, three foundaries, two brick manufacturing plants, three cement block plants, one cement well curb factory, three saddle and harness factories (one of which employs 100 men and has a horse collar factory in connection), two ice plants, two candy factories (one of which employs 100 people), one canning and preserving factory employing 200 people during the fruit season, creameries, one soap factory, one mattress, bed and cot spring factory, one cement factory, three cigar factories, three broom factories, one trunk factory, one yeast cake factory, one bluing factory, three bottling works plants, one pure food manufacturing company, one lime factory, two monument works, three book binderies, nine printing plants, two daily newspapers, and nearly a quarter of a million dollars invested in printing establishments (Morrison & Fourmy, p. 4).

While an improved and enlarged economy, and a better developed transit system benefitted the six ethnic groups who settled in Austin, nothing distinguished either the occupations or choice of residential areas either in their favor or in discrimination against them. Between 1875 and 1910 no indication of biases caused by improved transportation facilities or the general growth pattern of Austin were evident.

... of the numbering in the second, and the overwhelming quantity of information in the third made it a hard task to learn the whereabouts and occupations of the ethnic minorities who'd be included.

The city council appointed a certain Joe Costa, son of an Italian immigrant lawyer, to take a door to door census of the city in 1875. The data he gathered, written in a ledger now housed at the Austin History Center, included the block number of each residence, national origin, literacy level, the number of family members, lodgers, servants per household, and in some cases, the breadwinner's occupation.

CHAPTER 3

Ethnic Austin in the 1870s

The availability of primary data led to the choice of 1875 as the starting point for this study. Although the United States censuses of 1860, 1970 and 1880 allowed a general picture of the ethnic scene in Austin to emerge, the absence of street numbering at the first date, the inadequacy of the numbering in the second, and the overwhelming quantity of information in the third made it a hard task to learn the whereabouts and occupations of the ethnic minorities who would be included.

The city council appointed a certain Joe Costa, the son of an Italian immigrant lawyer, to take a door to door census of the city in 1875. The data he gathered, handwritten in a ledger now housed at the Austin History Center, included the block number of each residence, national origin, literacy level, the number of family members, lodgers and servants per household, and in some cases the breadwinner's occupation.

Austin was divided into eight wards even as early as 1840. Costa began his work in the western segment of the First Ward, the southwest quadrant of the city which reached from the River front and the mouth of Shoal Creek to 3rd Street. In this area there were Mexicans and blacks, their large families living in crowded, unsanitary property. Few of either group recorded their occupation. In the Second, Fourth and Sixth Wards, directly to the north lived the middle-class Anglos, with black families in the alleys behind them. Costa moved up to the Eighth Ward that straddled the breadth of the city above the Capitol, and his pages note significant clusters of Swedes and Germans. Turning south when he reached the end of Magnolia Street, present day Martin Luther King Boulevard, he showed black communities along the flood-prone banks of Waller Creek. The first ledger came to a halt at 9th Street, ignoring the Fifth and Third Ward and the eastern portion of the First Ward, which represented the business district. Supplemental data were needed to complete the residential settlement pattern, for the second ledger proved an inadequate and less informative document than the first one.

The first city directory, published in 1872, and the subsequent one which appeared in 1877, combined to fill

the picture partially. Since most of the Jews, having mercantile occupations, located in this segment of Austin, and their financial status forced them to work and reside in the same premises, it was important to identify them clearly. Austin's Jews at this period were mostly German born, sharing names with German gentiles. The 1870 and 1880 U.S. censuses, while not very useful in pinpointing house locations, supplied two pointers for differentiating between Jews and Gentiles. The first was the occasional notation that Yiddish was the familiar language. The second, commoner hint was in the first names. Though these proved nothing unequivocally, a combination of information from the different sources simplified the issue. Lastly, the records from the Jewish cemetery which was established in 1866 were available, and allowed a confident assumption that the majority of Jews in Austin had been identified. Other groups caused less of a problem. Blacks were identified by a "B" in each census, and Hispanic names with scarcely an exception indicated Mexicans born on one or other side of the border. Swedes, Germans, and Irish could all be identified from the "national orgin" column.

The number of symbols on the map allocated to each group do not tally with Costa's figures as I chose to

make heads of household not individuals the working unit. Biases cut across all groups and had to be corrected by retrieving data from additional sources. For instance, there were settlements beyond the city limits where most, but by no means all of the residents were black and Mexican. In the richer neighborhoods, numerous Swedish and German maids were omitted from the count. The Irish and Jews, both coming to check out work possibilities, tended to live in boarding houses before settling or moving on. Costa's census, for example, showed over 30 Irishmen lodging under a single roof in 1875, a figure high enough to alter the clustering pattern if individuals were the chosen unit. But as Jews also boarded with Jewish families or in hotels, and as many Swedes lived in an area purchased for them to the east of the Eighth Ward, the omissions are general rather than skewing a single population.

The city directory, used to supplement the 1875 census had its own biases, declaring one of its principal deficiencies the omission of blacks who were found to be too numerous and transient for an accurate count. The directory lists only three Mexicans, far too great a discrepancy from Costa's total of 297 to be deemed credible. The third major resource for 1875, the Daily Democratic Statesman,

supplied information on building development and the economy of the city, on attitudes to immigrants and blacks, as well as a potpourri of social and political activities.

Between eleven and fifteen thousand people were living in Austin and its outlying area by 1875. Joe Costa, who was commissioned by the city council to take a census, submitted his findings to the Mayor in early May.

Under an appointment from your Honor on the 18th day of February last, I have made a thorough enumeration of the inhabitants of the City of Austin up to and including the 30th day of April, 1875.

I would state further in making this report I have added 2700 to the actual resident citizens a portion of which say 700 is that population which lives contiguous (sic) to the lines of the corporation but who do business in the city daily and are properly inhabitants, the 2000 is a floating population which is constantly in the city, I would further state that I have in making this enumeration made

TABLE the classification as follows, Married, Single, Male and Female, No. of Voters, No. of Residence and &c. But as a full statement of these classifications would make my report long and tedious I refer you to my rolls for such (Costa, 1875) (Table 3.1)

The first ward, reaching across the southern end of the town, and up as far as 3rd Street included the lowlands along the riverfront, and housed poorer people, many of them Mexicans and blacks. To the north, the three central wards west of Congress Avenue already attracted the prosperous and their attendant servants. North of the capitol, the hilly eighth ward, and the seventh ward below it were ethnically heterogeneous. The third and fifth wards constituted the business district.

Settlement in the city's four quadrants by the various ethnic groups demonstrates differential clustering, and allows interesting statistical analyses. The concentration index or measure of spatial concentration, is utilized to determine the degree of residential clustering (Table 3.2) (Appendix). For this study the concentration index reflects a comparison of each ethnic group's clustering in relation to all

Table 3.1

Austin Ethnic Population by Ethnic Group, 1875

Native born Americans	5.157
Coloured	3.497
English	113
Irish	21
Scotch	19
French	6
Germans	757
Swedes	138
Poles	41
Mexicans	297
Chinees (sic)	20
Italians	37
Russians	7
Floating (unknown habitation)	2700

(Report to Austin City Council by Joe Costa, May, 1875,
Austin History Center)

Table 3.2

Ethnic Group Head of Households, Frequency by Quadrant

	Austin 1875				
	SE	SW	NE	NW	X
Germans	38	35	44	64	181
Swedes	1	4	15	17	37
Blacks	82	53	97	68	300
Jews	24	6	0	9	39
Irish	4	19	3	7	33
Mexican	0	67	1	1	69
Total	149	184	160	166	659

of the other ethnic groups. It may be assumed that the remaining population distribution and density is approximately that of the ethnics, and therefore would be a constant. Thus the concentration index scores reported herein are conservative and an underestimation of the clustering of the ethnic groups. Moreover, it should be recognized that low index scores are indicative of slight clustering, and the measure is only calculated when the proportion of the ethnic group under study is greater in the areas being examined than it is in the city as a whole. Similarly, higher scores are indicative of substantial clustering as a score of 1.00 can only occur when all of the ethnic group lived in an area and none of the ethnic group lived elsewhere.

Mexicans were the most segregated of the six groups (Figure 3.1). Their segregation scores $S_x = .7727$. All but seven families lived in the southwest quadrant on eight blocks along the Colorado River and the mouth of Shoal Creek, in the First Ward (Table 3.3). By contrast, the Irish families were scattered throughout the town, more on the west than the east side, but many are excluded from the study as they were boarders rather than householders (Figure 3.2). They too, scored their highest, $S_x = .3122$, in the southwest quadrant (Table 3.3). The Swedes within the city limits

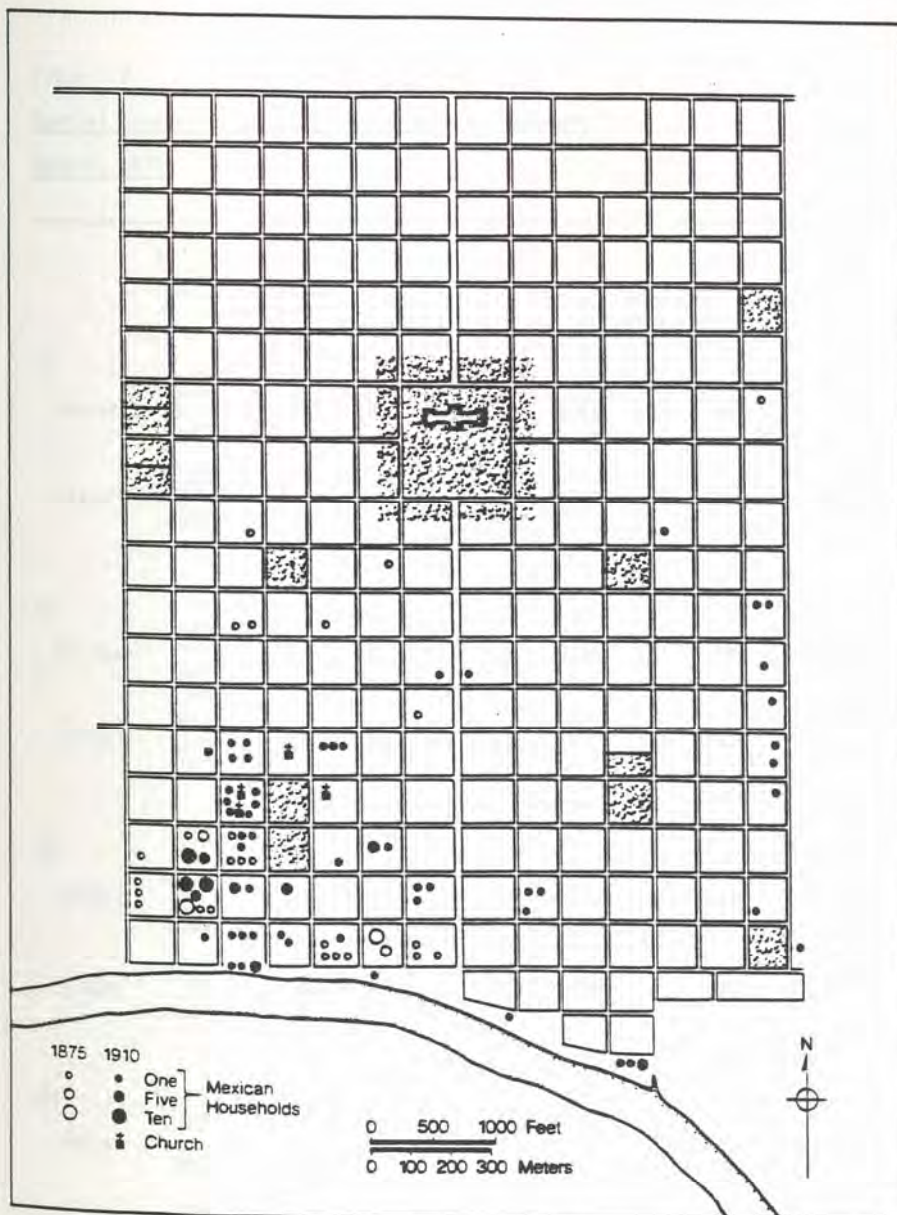


Figure 3.1. Mexican households in Austin 1875 and 1910

Table 3.3

Spatial Concentration of Ethnic Groups by Quadrant

Austin, 1875

	$\frac{x_g}{T_g}$ $\geq \frac{x}{T}$	T	T _g	X _g	x	$\frac{x_g}{x}$	(T-X) _g	(T-X)	$\frac{(T-X)_g}{T-X}$	S _x
SE										
Jewish	$\frac{.1610}{.0591}$	659	149	24	39	.6153	125	620	.2016	.4137
Black	$\frac{.5503}{.4552}$	659	149	82	300	.2733	67	359	.1866	.9867
SW										
Mexican	$\frac{.3641}{.1047}$	659	184	67	69	.9710	117	590	.1983	.7727
Irish	$\frac{.1032}{.0501}$	659	184	19	33	.5757	165	626	.2635	.3122
NE										
Swedes	$\frac{.0937}{.0561}$	659	160	15	37	.4054	145	622	.2331	.1723
Blacks	$\frac{.6062}{.4552}$	659	160	97	300	.3233	63	359	.1754	.1479
NW										
Swedes	$\frac{.1024}{.0561}$	659	166	17	37	.4595	149	622	.2395	.2200
Germans	$\frac{.3855}{.2746}$	659	166	64	181	.3535	102	478	.2133	.1402

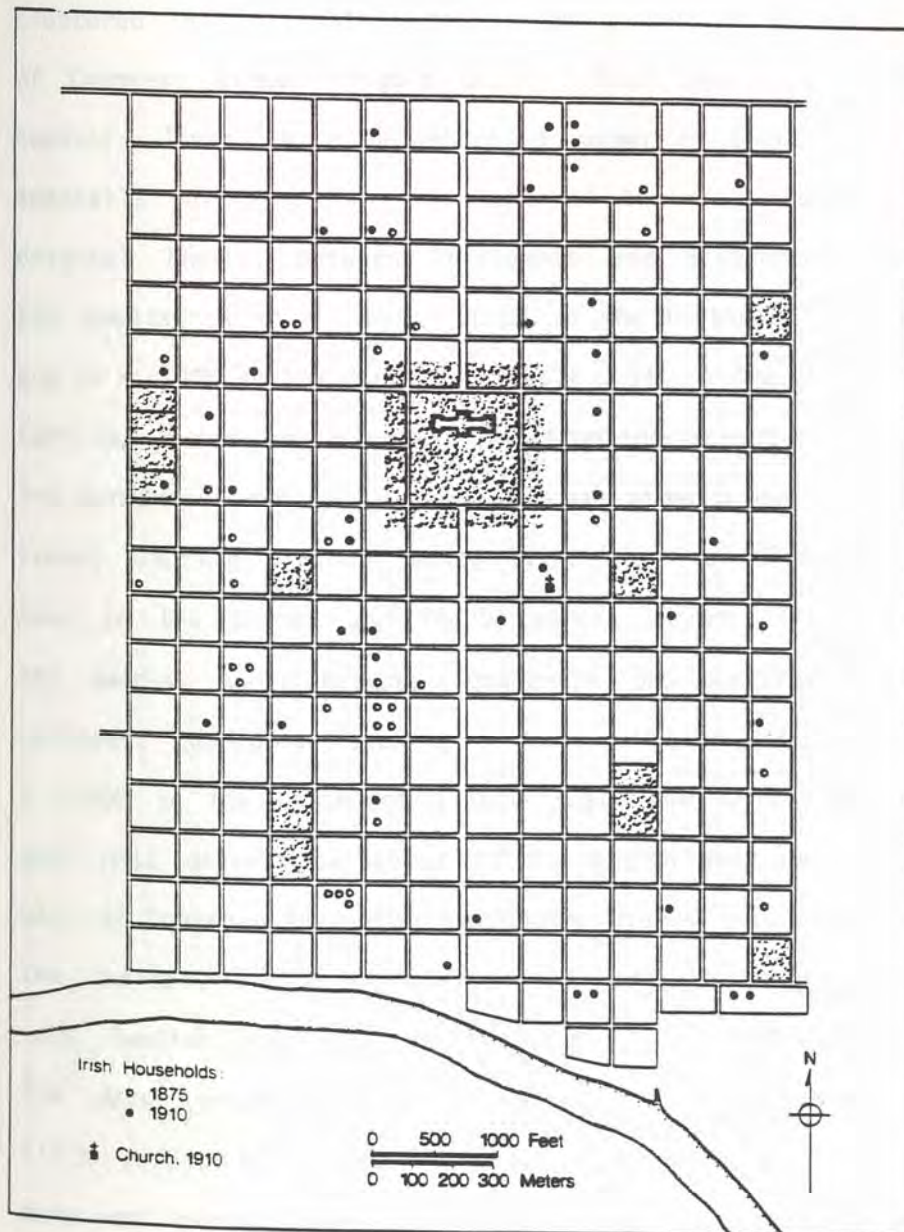


Figure 3.2. Irish households in Austin 1875 and 1910

clustered in the eighth Ward, in two pockets on either side of Congress Avenue (Figure 3.3). Most Swedish families, however, lived in a neighborhood known as Swedish Hill, specially purchased for them east of the city, beyond the original limits, between Thirteenth and Sixteenth Street. The Swedish score is $S_x = .1723$ in the northeast quadrant and $S_x = .2200$ in the northwest (Table 3.3). A few prosperous families owned houses downtown, fronting Congress Avenue. The Germans, far more numerous than any other group in Austin except the Anglos and blacks, lived all over town, though less in the second and fourth wards (Figure 3.4). Like the Swedes, their heaviest concentrations occurred in the northeast quadrant, reaching a score of $S_x = .0003$ and $S_x = .1402$ in the northwest (Table 3.3). At this time they were most densely clustered in the eighth ward, especially west of Congress Avenue on the cooler bluffs that overlooked the capitol, but also interspersed with the edge of the core Swedish community on the east side of the Avenue. The Jews, unsurprisingly, concentrated in the third and fifth wards, but already by 1875 they were beginning to move west across Congress Avenue as financial success allowed (Figure 3.5). In the southeast quadrant their index reached a score of $S_x = .4137$ (Table 3.3). The blacks, over five

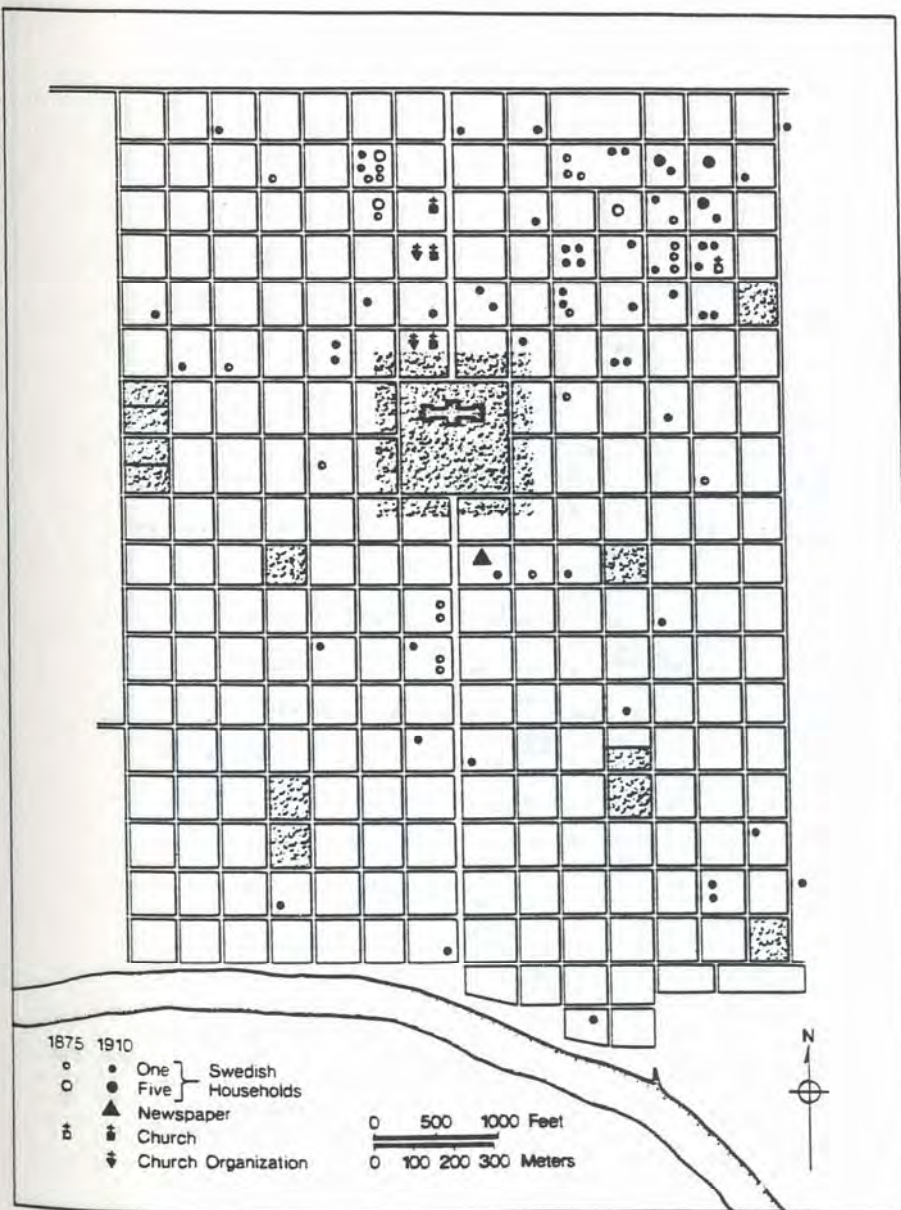


Figure 3.3. Swedish households in Austin 1875 and 1910

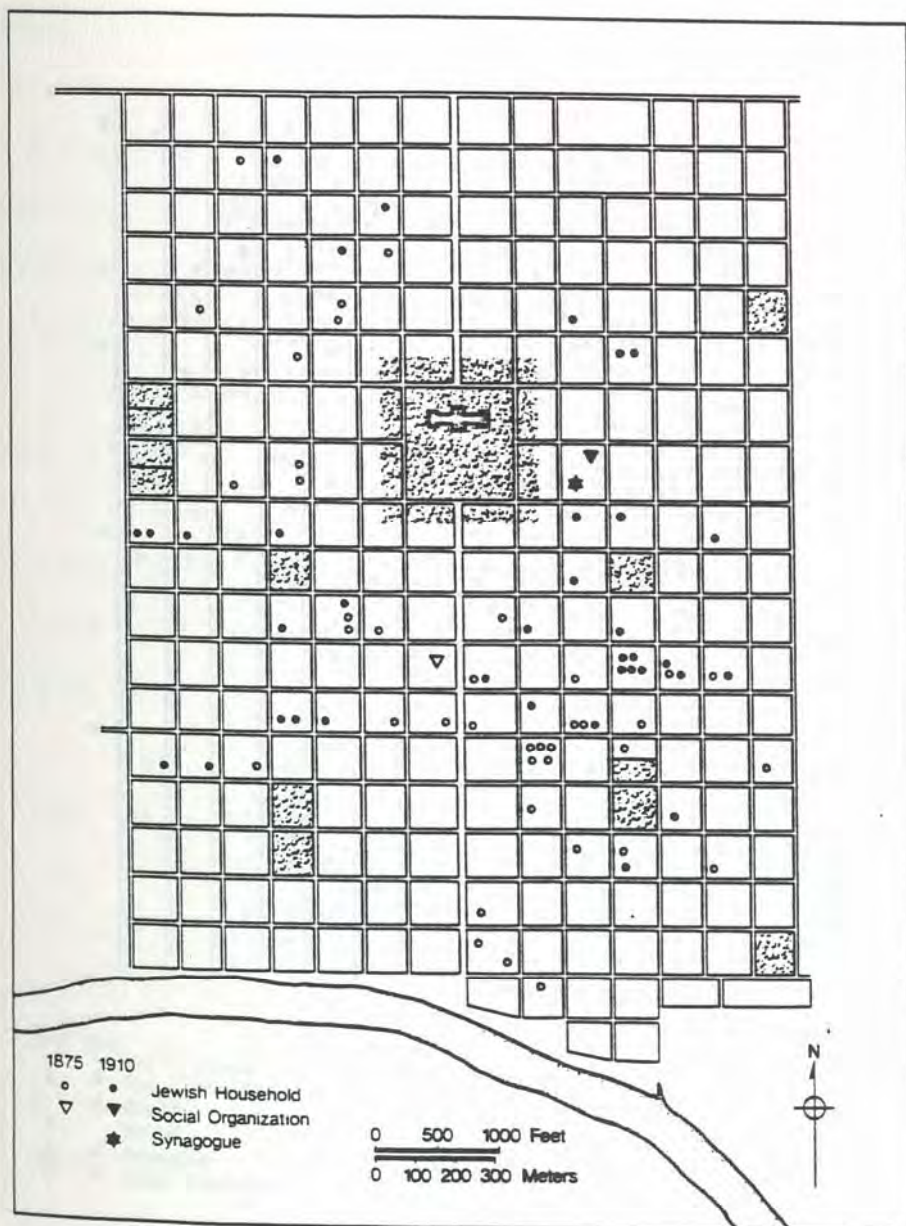


Figure 3.4. Jewish households in Austin 1875 and 1910

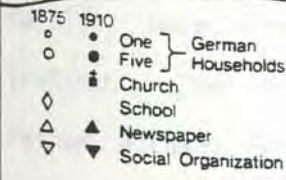


Figure 3.5. German households in Austin 1875 and 1910

times as numerous as the Germans, lived in several neighborhood clusters (Figure 3.6). These lay predominantly on the east side of town with scores of $S_x = .1479$ in the northeast and $S_x = .0867$ in the southeast (Table 3.3). As many were poor, their presence in the fourth and sixth wards suggests employment in domestic service, the growing complex of State buildings, and the county jail just southwest of the capitol. Although more than 60 black families lived in the wards on the western side of town, and another scattering made their homes in the eighth ward by far the heaviest concentration lay along the banks of Waller Creek and in fringe settlements.

The popular image of Irish immigrants as rowdy, drunk and well below the poverty line originated on the eastern seaboard where near-destitute families, escaping from the potato famines in Ireland during the 1840s set foot in America. In Austin, the first contingent of Irish families moved from the Gulf coast, not as refugees from Ireland. They organized a parish under the guidance of Father Michael Sheehan who in 1853 came from Bastrop, 30 miles to the east, and built a small stone church at the corner of 9th Street and Brazos. Initially called St. Patrick's, the name of the parish was changed in about 1866

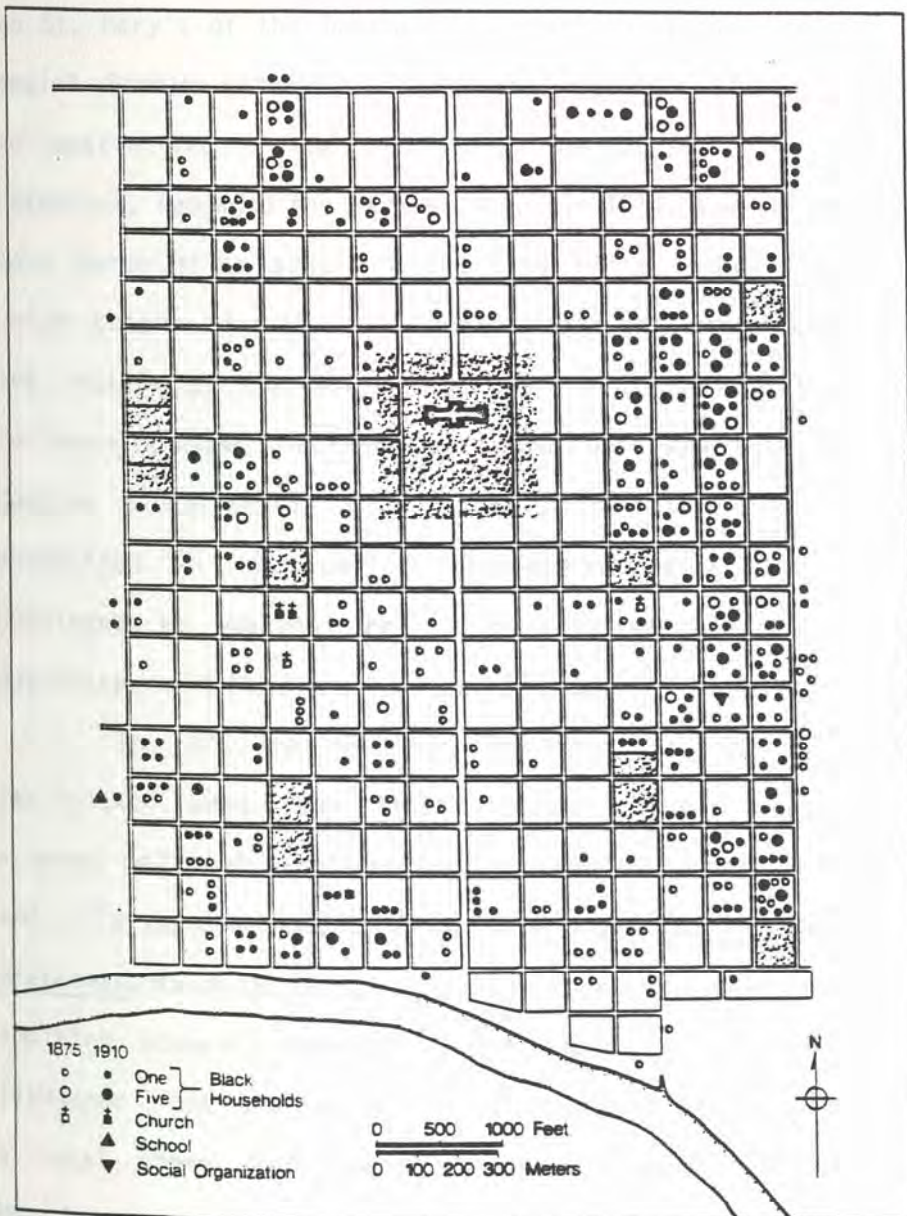


Figure 3.6. Black households in Austin 1875 and 1910

to St. Mary's of the Immaculate Conception by the more influential German Catholics. A number of Irish priests came to Austin and a new structure, the present St. Mary's Cathedral, replaced the earlier one. In 1874, a widow donated land three miles south of the city for a Catholic college which became St. Edward's University, and that same year the Sisters of the Holy Cross arrived in Austin and began to teach classes in the rock schoolhouse near the church. Despite a contention that parochial schooling impeded the adaptation of Irish children to American ways, the school continued to educate the children of middle-class Irish Austinites well into the twentieth century.

In 1875 the newspaper described St. Patrick's Day festivities when "Our Irish fellow-citizens indulged in a grand ball and excellent supper...and sweet music, dancing and hilarity continued until a late hour" (Daily Democratic Statesman, March 18, 1875, p.3, col.2). Later that year an almost admiring account appeared in the paper of "a regular old fashioned fist and skull Irish scrimmage" taking place at a local store, and "two Irishmen scrimmaged in front of Mr. Bahn's residence on Sunday" (Daily Democratic Statesman, August 10, 1875, p.3, col.1; August 17, 1875, p.3, col.2). While the United States census of 1860 included an Irish gentleman,

druggist, even an albino upholsterer among the ranks, in 1875 those who claimed Irish ethnicity and listed their occupations were, apart from saloon keepers, mostly stonecutters and masons. Some had an intractable moral streak, like James Simms who lived with his family at the corner of Lavaca and 3rd Street, in a house near the red light district. He protested vehemently and often to the city council about the surrounding corruption.

The tenderloin abutted the edge of the principal Mexican concentration where a man known as the "magnate of Mexico" ran a grocery and saloon. By 1874 he was holding fandangoes two to three times a week. Among these attending were not only the youth of the city but also several prostitutes (Humphrey, 1983; 473-516). "Few details of barrio conditions survive, but one newspaper story refers to law-makers, seeking stolen goods, going first to look in 'Five Point' or 'Mexico' which was about the dirtiest, roughest, corner of creation laid down on the city maps" (Daily Democratic Statesman, January 31, 1875; p.3, col.3). While Austin developed into a modern, orderly city, progress escaped this section. A reference to education in Austin before the advent of public schools mentions a Mexican school which had 20 pupils, under the direction of Mr. Muhlbach, but this could not be corroborated (Long, 1952, p. 14).

SWEDISH SETTLEMENT IN AUSTIN

Austin's Swedes came because of the efforts of two men, S. M. Swenson and Swante Palm. In about 1850 Swenson, who had already had business interests in Texas for a few years, opened a store in downtown Austin and involved himself in a series of ventures which culminated in his making a fortune as a banker in New York, and being the mainstay of hundreds of young men and their families needing release from the poverty in Småland, a province in southern Sweden. Realizing the potential of Austin, Swenson purchased a tract of land at the edge of the city, on what is now a central spot, Martin Luther King Boulevard, then returned to Sweden where his enthusiasm attracted his uncle Swante Palm to join him. Palm, after serving as postmaster of La Grange, a town east of Austin for a few years, was appointed Swedish vice-consul and moved to Austin to a house just off Congress Avenue near the capitol. The two men operated a franchised Scandinavian immigration agency and brought many families to the Austin area. As well as finding them agricultural work, essentially as indentured laborers, and helping establish Swedish settlements within a few miles of Austin, Palm and Swenson settled a few Swedes in the city itself. For

Swenson, one success led to the next, and after profitable cotton trafficking in Mexico during the Civil War he moved North.

Palm brought a group of a hundred Swedes to Austin in 1867, and many others followed. A favorite means of recruitment was by sending what were termed America letters, exaggerated accounts of a location which were then answered, in this instance by Palm, with abundant enthusiasm and encouragement about life in Texas, "The price of land here is low. Here it costs \$5.00 to \$10.00 per acre...Young women find work in families for about ten to twelve dollars a month; for as houseworkers, Swedish girls are much wanted" (Rogers, 1966).

The long, Swedish winters restricted work in the fields, keeping people indoors, and young men grew up as competent artisans or craftsmen. In Austin their skills were in great demand, and the immigrants appear to have had little trouble finding a niche for themselves.

Although most Swedish immigrants arrived as Lutherans, within a few years a high percentage had become Methodists, due in part to a long-harbored resentment of the Swedish state church. Gethsemane Lutheran Church was organized in 1868, and the congregation worshipped first at 9th Street

and Guadalupe in a building later purchased by the African Methodist Church, before moving to the present church at the southwest corner of Congress Avenue and 16th Street. Swante Palm, a talented and apparently scholarly man, became the congregation's first organist. When he died, his collection of 10,000 books was donated to the University of Texas and formed the foundation of its library. Swedes organized the Central Methodist Church in 1873, and within a few months completed a church at the corner of 15th Street and Red River, on the western side of Swedish Hill. The first minister, The Reverend Carl Charnquist, was a converted Lutheran.

Descendants of early residents relate stories of the Swedish neighborhoods, especially of their cleanliness and order, remembering how tidy the children looked playing in front of their houses. Housewives, according to legend, took it in turn to offer neighbors refreshment, throwing a cloth over the fence to announce when coffee was ready, and it was time to take a break from chores. Unlike the Germans, the Swedes never organized a school for their community.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Probably one of the earliest Jews to settle in Austin, a certain Henricks, operated a store on Congress Avenue as early as the 1850s. He and his brother Benjamin apparently left before the city had a viable Jewish community (Amelia Barr, 1913). Very soon after, Phineas de Cordova, the Philadelphia born son of a Sephardic family from the Caribbean island of Jamaica established a local business. He was the brother of Jacob de Cordova, a famed Texas booster responsible for laying out the city of Waco. Phineas de Cordova edited the weekly Southwestern American, was registered as a land agent in 1848, and served as county representative in the Texas legislature (Webb & Carroll, 1952, Vol. 1, p. 480). He lived isolated from his fellow Jews, at the corner of 18th Street and San Antonio, in the German colony. A founder member of the Jewish Reform congregation, he was its president on three occasions, during one of which terms his son married in the Episcopal church.

In 1875 the rest of the Jews lived in or close to the third and fifth wards, and owned several retail businesses. A few families predated the arrival of the Houston and Texas Central in 1871, but as in other

communities in Texas and further afield, the Jews hastened to potential growth spots, with the arrival of railroad. Dry goods or groceries, liquor, clothing and general stores were the most popular, followed by jewelry and tobacco outlets.

Austin's Jews organized a local chapter of B'nai B'rith in the summer of 1875. Originating as a mutual aid society in New York in 1843, B'nai B'rith benefited itinerant Jewish peddlers and merchants, the pioneers who faced remote towns away from larger German Jewish enclaves. The chapter in Austin had 25 charter members, all but two, a tailor and a clerk, stating their occupation as 'merchant' (B'nai B'rith records). Austin Jews in the 1870s recognized the Reform movement, and came from Germany where it had originated. The Russian and East European Jews, refugees from the pogroms, were more traditional, conservative, and overall more foreign.

Needing a minyan or quorum comprising at least 10 adult males in order to hold formal services, the Austin Jewish community had been too transient until this time to organize a congregation, despite the newspaper asking 'Why cannot our Jewish brethren come together here and raise funds for the building of a fine synagogue for their worship? Democratic Statesman, October 24, 1875, p.3, col.1). No doubt editorial minds were set at rest when, following an announcement in

the paper in September 1876, thirty Jews gathered at the Odd Fellows' hall on Congress Avenue to raise money for a building, secure a lot for it, and draft a regulatory constitution. The group raised \$1,682, and a further sum was pledged soon after (Temple Beth Israel commemorative brochure, 1951). The next year the group purchased a lot at the corner of 11th Street and San Jacinto. Though Jewish tradition demands that a synagogue be within walking distance as Jews may not ride on the Sabbath, and also built on the highest available spot, the site in Austin was as likely chosen for its secular convenience, as it was easy to gather there, close to work, for talk as well as prayer. Fund raising proved hard, and solicitations for help drew contributions from at least two gentile merchants, John Bremond and the German Walter Tips. Their generosity supports the letter written by Charles Wessolowsky who visited Austin on a tour of Southern Jewish communities in 1878 and 1879.

This handsome city numbers about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and we find therein about thirty-five Jewish families, and perhaps two hundred and fifth Jewish souls. All seems to be in good circumstances,

doing well and are very much respected among the Gentiles. Many of them are carrying on a vast and extensive business, and some of them are old citizens of Austin, having resided there for the past twenty-six years; and those in particular are enjoying the respect and goodwill of all (Schmier, 1983; p. 101).

Such effusive comment contradicts the appeal for money, but undeniably a few Jews were extremely successful, and the community grew. De Cordova, advertising in the paper each day, sold buildings and lots, one after another. A Mr. Rosenfield felt it was worth his while to move down from Marshall, a railroad in northeast Texas. Mr. Littman set up a cigar manufactory, and raised seven daughters, two of whom lived to be centenarians. A Mr. Hertzberg was confident enough to seek customers in two guises, as an optician and a gold watch dealer. Others were less fortunate. Maurice Olenick was murdered in 1877, and J. Greenberg, a cripple, appealed to the city council for a permit to sell liquor on 6th Street without a license, and was referred to the Committee on Charity. Theodore Tuszinsky,

of Congress and 5th Street
a Polish Jew who left Austin for San Antonio, committed suicide in jail there, while being held on a charge of stealing. The Austin obituary recognized him as "slender and active with red hair and whiskers, with an exceedingly collegiate air and a scientific turn of mind" (Daily Democratic Statesman, July 21, 1875; p. 3, col. 1).

The greatest Jewish success story in Austin belonged to the Hirshfeld family. German immigrants, the Hirshfelds prospered early, and built a splendid home in the early 1880s at the corner of 9th Street and Lavaca. It was one of three fine houses owned by Jews on a two block stretch, and set a precedent for other Jewish merchants who moved west across Congress Avenue as soon as they could afford to leave their lodgings or the rooms they lived in behind their stores. Henry Hirshfeld, the first president of Congregation Beth Israel, a charter member and vice-president of the bank which was the largest in the city a hundred years later, ran a dry goods store at the junction

of Congress and 5th Street, and within a few years owned considerable downtown property. Memorabilia in the form of letters, receipts, notebooks and photographs show how a well-to-do Jewish family spent their days. The house, with its elegantly balconied second floor, looked more like an upper middle-class American family home than one belonging to a Jew from a European ghetto. While it stood on the better edge of the commercial district, no visible indication of its Jewishness, or the Jewishness of the neighborhood were distinguishable.

Henry Hirshfeld's wife, Jennie, portrayed her family and friends, and their social activities among Jews and non-Jews in an indefatigable correspondence with her eldest daughter.

Lill wants me to give her my old lace wrap.

I refused, everyone here knows it. Her husband is able to buy her a new one, she has no business to be so penurious, the D -- will get her anyway, she looks horrid

out every day without a corset I am surprised that Laura goes with her...

I made six calls yesterday, Detravillis, Phillipsons, Harrisons, Sallie's, Faulkners, Heidenheimers, she got news of her Father's death, fell dead going to schule on Yom Kippoor (..going to synagogue on one of the holiest days in the Jewish calender).

Lill took all the children to the dog show this afternoon, you know how she enjoys those things.

Rosine Parks (sic) husband died this morning in New York, another gay widow for Austin (Hirshfeld papers, Austin History Center).

The problem of holding on to domestic servants took on an ethnic tone in the correspondence:

Eother (sic) gave me two days notice, she was offered twenty dollars to be house girl at the deaf and dumb institute, was eight days in a new month. These Swedes

are all alike. I got a Negro to come before she left, hired her by the week, she beats nothing. Have had half a dozen applicants, Swedes and Americans, but I want a German girl for a change (Undated letter, Hershsfeld collection, Austin History Center).

GERMAN DIVERSITY

Unlike the Swedes, who filled the artisan niche, and the Jews, who were almost invariably retailers, the Germans alone among the ethnic groups entered every field of endeavor. Their homes in the city in 1875 stood principally in two 'colonies', one in the Eighth Ward northwest of the capitol and the other crossing from the Eighth to the Seventh Wards. There was also a sizable middle-class German neighborhood East of the city, on the outer edge of the Swedish and black sections (Harrison interview). Significant German migration began in central Texas in the 1840s with the founding of farming communities and the town of New Braunfels and Fredericksburg. Louis Horst, who arrived in Austin during the time of the Republic, bought sizable tracts of land to the north and east of Austin, one of several

early residents to be followed by optimistic compatriots.

A Methodist congregation was established in 1874, four blocks east of Congress Avenue, and at the congregational Spring picnic held in 1875 at Horst's grove, a newspaper report judged the new church to be "in a thriving condition, its membership rapidly increasing" (Daily Democratic Statesman, May 18, 1875; p.3, col.1). The first Lutheran congregation was organized in 1883. German cohesiveness seems to have relied on socializing rather than worship, especially when accompanied by music. Turner Hall, up on 18th Street in the German colony, was advertised as the finest hall and stage in the State, and many musical attractions were staged there (Spell, 1936; p.76). In 1878 the Singing Society of the Turn Verein counted over 170 members (Mooney & Morrison, 1877). The Saengerrunde, formed in 1879, became the hub of all German musical events. Meetings were generally held in the German neighborhood that centered on Trinity and San Jacinto. The first leader of the Saengerrunde, William Besserer, was born in the United States and educated in Germany. He ran a music store on 6th Street with J. L. Buass, his adoptive father.

Soon after the Civil War eight musicians, directed by Henry Klotz, assembled a city string band. Along with a German brass band they played a benefit concert for widows and orphans of the Franco-Prussian War. George Herzog, a music teacher at the Blind Institute for 25 years, took over the brass band and also an orchestra which gave Sunday afternoon concerts at the Scholz hall on 15th and San Jacinto. Originally owned by immigrant Augustus Scholz, the Saengerrunde later purchased the property. The Scholz family came in 1860, and their early years were described in an interview with their granddaughter, Edna Besserer Kuse, who was born in 1888.

My grandfather bought that whole block and there was a little old cabin on it and they lived in that, and in '61 he built the Saengerrunde Hall, and he used it for a boarding house, and that's where all the Germans came and stayed...And then he had a zoo, and then later he had a bowling alley and part of that home of mine where I was born still is the original that was built in '61. (Kuse interview)

She recalled also her mother's tales of the Indians who would come for water from the spring on their property, and being told that between the Yankee soldiers in the town and the Indians, little girls were not allowed in the street. Mrs. Kuse's other grandparents were the musical Besserers.

Besides their love of music, the Germans focused attention on education. For years the preferred private school in town was Bickler's German-English school, which changed names and locations but never lost popularity. An earlier German school, near the Lunatic Asylum, was headed by a Mr. Heiglbrodt, but no further information about it, beyond a passing reference in the 1877 city directory, has been retrieved. Bickler's institution was first located on 10th Street, readily accessible to surrounding Germans, in an area which later included their newspaper office, the Methodist church and Scholz Hall. In 1872 the principal, Philip Bickler, was joined by his Rhenish nephew, Jacob. They directed the school together for two years, during which time Jacob married Martha Lungwitz, daughter of an eminent German landscape artist then teaching at the Texas Female Academy on 14th Street, between Lavaca and Colorado. The Academy had transferred from New Braunfels, 40 miles

south of Austin, in 1872, and stayed at this site for five years. After working for the General Land Office as an assistant draftsman and calculator, Jacob Bickler returned to education, opening the Texas German-English Academy for boys and young men in 1877 in the building vacated by the Female Academy. Success forced him to choose larger premises, this time the former Texas Military Institute on 12th Street, just west of the city. (Encyclopedia of Biography, 1931; 245-247).

Although Austin did not become the commercial center of the State, there was enough opportunity for the hardworking, and among them a handful of Germans, became rich. Judge Julius Schütze, came into the United States at Indianola, on the Gulf of Mexico, in 1852. He taught language and music at schools in Bastrop and San Antonio, and served as Chief Justice of Bastrop county after the Civil War. He set up a law practice in Austin around 1870, and in 1883 launched the weekly Vorwaerts, which he continued to edit until his death in 1904. The father of nine children, his second wife was Julia Brueggerhoff, who belonged to another successful German merchant family (Schütze, 1904).

Shooting clubs were popular as well as singing and music groups. In 1878 William Brueggerhoff was president of the Austin Rifle Club, or the Schutzenverein, founded

in 1874, and the newer Long Range Rifle Club (Mooney & Morrison, 1877). The Germans led active professional and social lives in Austin, evidently enjoying each other's friendship and support. There is no suggestion that middle-class Germans felt socially excluded in Austin, but nonetheless they maintained their own traditions.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Only one black lived in Austin according to the 1850 United States manuscript census, but a decade later there were twelve free blacks and 977 slaves. When Costa took his census the number had risen to 3,497. Though one cannot be sure all blacks living in peripheral settlements were included, many of them were counted in both censuses. None listed their occupations in Costa's project, limiting our understanding of the economic structure of the community, but beyond the urban limits to the East, many worked in the fields as rural day laborers (Brewer, 1940; p. 12).

The last of the six groups, the blacks, shared the lowest standard of living with the Mexicans, but these two groups rarely lived on the same block. Instead, the blacks were to be found in most sections of the city in

1875, often in alley houses behind those owned by the Anglos for whom they worked as domestics, or in downtown businesses such as hotel, restaurants, and stables (Borchert, 1980; Cannadine & Reeder, 1982). East of the capitol a pronounced black cluster ran south to the river along the banks of Waller Creek, especially in an area bounded by Red River and Sabine, 8th and 13th Street. Blacks also lived east of the city as far out as the French legation, a relic of the Republic. On the west side of the capitol they lived on seven contiguous blocks, while other families had homes in the second ward. There were also pockets in the fifth ward, generally adjacent to the blocks where Swedes or Germans lived.

Masontown, the first black settlement, dates to 1867. It lay between 3rd and 6th Street, Waller Creek and out east to Chicon, and was named for two property-owning black brothers. Another outlying cluster, Wheatville, stood between present 24th and 26th Streets, Rio Grande and Shoal Creek, and was settled two years later. Clarksville, the only west side peripheral black settlement with enduring residential stability, began when attorney E. M. Pease, two-term governor of Texas, from 1853-1857, not only donated acreage along Shoal creek for a city park, but also gave land to his former slaves. One of these freedmen, Charles

Clark, built a house here in 1871, setting a precedent that allowed Clarksville to stay virtually intact for a century.

After the Civil War several black churches were organized in Austin, including two Baptist and two Methodist congregations with regular meeting places, and others where services were held in neighborhood homes. The Wesley United Methodist Church met first in the basement of the Anglo Tenth Street Methodist church, then in 1867 acquired its own property at 9th Street and Nueces. Also in the Second Ward, the African Methodist Church at 9th Street and San Antonio, celebrated a camp meeting in 1875, pitching 60 tents on the outskirts of town. The Negro Baptist Church stood at the corner of 9th and Guadalupe, the site of the first Austin Public Library. In July 1875 an account in the newspaper showed that the dictum live and let live was not always observed.

For the last month so-called religious meetings in the two colored church on the fourth block East of the Avenue have been held almost nightly, to the annoyance of the neighborhood surrounding it. Of all the earthly howlings, yellings and screamings

that it has ever been our bad luck to listen to in our earthly sphere, these meetings can beat them all. Some nights both churches hold until a very late hour, and the residents of that part of the city will bear us out in saying that the disturbance is intolerable and absolutely disgusting (Daily Democratic Statesman, July 15, 1875, p.3, col.3).

There were several schools for black boys and girls. A thesis on education in Austin before the advent of public schools suggested that in 1876 forty children attended school on Robertson Hill, the hub of East Austin. Wheatville had sixty-six students, and another on Trinity and 9th Street had almost a hundred and fifty. In the sixth ward a school stood between the two churches on 9th Street, and supposedly the children played across the way in Wooldridge Park running rabbits up and down the grassy slopes (Long, 1952). The "Free" schools charged \$2.00 a month for black students, to pay the teachers' salaries, and \$3.00 a month for Anglo children, the rationale being that the latter advanced beyond the elementary grades.

Beside their bonds of religion and education, blacks in Austin enjoyed their own music with the Hicks City Band which played at social events around town. A Spring picnic was held in Scholz Gardens in 1875, and that year on Juneteenth, fifteen hundred gathered to celebrate Emancipation Day at Presslers, a German beer garden at mile to the west of the city on an extension of 5th Street. The 1877-78 Austin city directory acknowledges, without being more specific, a black military group, the Austin City Rifles, organized in 1874, which met on the east side of East Avenue at the armory (Mooney & Morrison, 1877; p. 52).

The mayor actively solicited the black vote in his campaign for reelection in Fall of 1875. He was derided for his behavior:

A little clearing of the street on Robertson's Hill, about the churches of colored congregations, just before elections, will certainly not influence colored votes. Neither members of churches or other intelligent colored people will be controlled at the polls by such demonstrations (Daily Democratic Statesman, October 20, 1875; p. 3, col. 1).

The same newspaper contended that the volume of white immigrants was the most precious of Austin's importations, and chastized officials and developers who were unprepared for the 10,000 people expected to come through the town on their trek westwards during the year, and who might be induced to make Austin their 'abiding place' (Daily Democratic Statesman, January 5, 1875, p.3, col.1). Although the paper sympathized with the 'poor woman' and children seeking escape from negro domination in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana", the sentiment appeared to be directed less at black individuals than the phenomenon of black independence.

In the 1870s as the trauma of the Civil War began to fade, and the waves of immigration became almost commonplace, no change in the population or growth of Austin anticipated that any particular group's status would be affected significantly. However, both human and technological progress altered the face of Austin substantially over the following generation. Over the next 35 years Swedish, German and Irish immigration lessened. A wave of Jews arrived in America from East Europe and Russia, some of whom made their way to Austin. The Mexican and black populations increased substantially, in part because of additional land annexation which brought peripheral settlements within the city boundaries.

CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNIC AUSTIN IN 1910

The analysis of ethnic patterns for Austin in 1910 is based mainly on the United States census manuscript (13th United States census manuscript schedules, 1910). This census introduced new problems. For a start, being in manuscript it was hard to read. While the census takers in West Austin penned a well-formed and highly legible script, across the tracks the census takers seemed hasty, eager to gather their data and leave. Their handwriting is chaotic and often barely decipherable. Apart from this mechanical impediment, the fact that many adherents to the several groups were not second generation led to changed language usage. The Jews, for example, spoke English rather than Yiddish or German during an American childhood, and so became more difficult to identify. But a new resource became available: interviews with descendants of the early ethnic families. The Austin History Center has transcribed interviews, and additional ones are to be found in private collections.

There are, too, unpublished accounts of Austin's past in the form of biographies, business records, letters and personal memorabilia.

In 1910 the city directory, a far more elaborate and ambitious publication than the original attempt in 1872, provided information that amplified the census data (Directory of the City of Austin, 1910-1911). By listing the churches, schools, clubs and associations and state institutions located in the city, the directory portrayed far more than a summation of the residential and commercial count. Churches were listed not only by denomination but also by ethnic predominance. Schools were listed with a strict division between the black and white institutions. The names of many association and business officials provides, in a general way, an indication of the degree of ethnic infiltration. Several Germans, for instance, served in the fire department, but only a single Jew. Germans and Jews had both found their way into the banking hierarchy while Irish and Swedish names, not to mention blacks and Mexicans, were virtually absent.

By 1910, because of land annexation as well as population growth, Austin was considerably larger than it had been in 1875. Some who had lived outside the mainstream

of the population as well as the spatial confines of the city, now saw themselves as both Austinites and Americans. Despite this new sense of belonging, the ethnic groups in 1910 still maintained religious, cultural and educational ties reflecting their origins. In the 1870s there was little on public view to show national or ethnic affiliation. A few churches indicated the location of the ethnic clusters rather than the range of communal activity. This had changed by 1910 when obvious pride in ethnic clubs and societies, schools and newspapers became apparent. Many were listed in the city directory though the boundary of the original city, used for the purpose of this study, excludes several ethnic strongholds. For example, the German gardening society, with two hundred members gathered monthly at Pressler's beer garden but is not mapped, nor are the offices of the bi-monthly Tillotson Tidings published at the east side college attended by 325 young black men and women (Morrison & Fourmy, 1910).

Focusing on ethnic presence in Austin in the early years of the twentieth century, this chapter will describe the area known as Austin before it was enlarged during the 1890s, though by 1910 it was more accurately the core. The morphology of this core survived as a mixed residential

and commercial zone until the 1970s, with neighborhoods remaining virtually intact, thereby justifying the choice to stay within the initial study framework rather than reach out across the original boundaries. Further, while the study is not a longitudinal one in the sense of following the progress of individuals or selected families, it has sought to show the general pattern of settlement and acculturation that occurred over the years. By 1910 the size of the six ethnic groups had changed, most having grown considerably, and some relocation had taken place (Table 4.1).

One of the few changes in the pattern between 1875 and 1910 was the disappearance of a cohesive Irish cluster, as shown in Figure 3.2. Only vestiges of an Irish community survived. An informal gathering of the Hibernian Society at the Knights of Columbus Hall in 1911 provided no more than a token tribute to Ireland. The party featured an impromptu limerick contest and clog dance, followed by a ball attended by celebrants wearing Irish peasant costumes (Austin Daily Statesman, March 19, 1911). Sixteen of the twenty seven Sisters of the Holy Cross at St. Mary's were Irish, apparently the only other Irish group in town (Catholic Diocese of Texas archives; Austin). The similarity of

language, physiognomy and cultural background of the Irish to the Anglos accelerated their assimilation.

Table 4.1

Ethnic Group Head of Household, Frequency by Quadrant

	Austin in 1910				
	SE	SW	NE	NW	X
Germans	79	38	68	70	255
Swedes	1	6	46	9	62
Blacks	139	65	165	63	432
Jews	19	11	3	3	36
Irish	11	9	11	8	39
Mexicans	21	83	1	0	105
Total	270	212	294	153	929

MEXICANS

Not so the Mexicans who continued to live near the mouth of Shoal Creek, by the railroad sidings east of the Avenue, and in other physically and socially marginal pockets (Figure 3.1). They epitomized the locationing of the poor as expressed in Burgess' urban model, clinging

to the periphery and distanced from the prosperity and amenities of the central business district (Figure 4.1). With few exceptions they continued to live as outcasts. While a single opinion cannot represent that of a whole community, the ingenious letter addressed by pastor James Roger CMC to the Bishop of Galveston in 1900, on behalf of St. Mary's congregation, probably expressed a common view:

The Mexicans in this town are not at all the best class of Mexicans and so what little they make in Summer they spend in a short time....Nearly all of the St. V. de Paul funds go to them. In the cotton picking season not many of them remain in town and this is one reason they are so hard to manage. The Winter brings them to town and I must say the town does them no good. They soon learn bad habits and quite a number of them are arrested for drunkenness after they come to town with the little money they have earned....We have some Mexican children at school and we try to get all we can, we help to clothe



Figure 4.1. Mexican housing built of barrel staves in the 1890s; Chalberg collection, Austin History Center, Austin

them and we help to feed them, and I do think with the means and help at our disposal we are doing all we can. What we want especially, however, is a chapel of their own and a priest and means to keep it up.... Since the Mexicans are, as they say half Indians, could not a portion of the Collections for the 'Indians and Negroes' be applied to them? (Unpublished letter: Catholic Diocese of Texas archives; Austin)

The Mexicans were surely as dissatisfied with the situation as their reluctant benefactors. In 1907 they organized their own Spanish parish, Our Lady of Guadalupe on West 4th Street, and worshipped also at nearby Hispanic Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal churches. Housing conditions reflected Mexican poverty. The tenderloin continued to thrive, and residents were obliged to walk to work past brothels, along dust-clouded streets that buzzed with flies from dirty stables (Hamilton, 1913; p.57). Overcrowding was commonplace, and one single block contained "a plot of ground about one hundred and forty feet by two hundred feet, on which are located thirty houses, in which forty-eight

families live. There are one hundred and eight children. The total number of people is two hundred and thirty-one. These houses rent, on an average, for \$7.00 a month each, or \$210 for the whole number, making the rent for the entire year amount to \$2520 (Hamilton, 1913). The money invested for both ground and houses probably amounted to less than \$3500. At least one owner of rental property here was Swedish.

Despite this eyesore, and the poverty of Mexicans who relied on seasonal field labor for a living, a few became successful. Ben Garza, born in Austin in 1889, attended Palm school near the railroad depot. He went to work as a delivery boy at a meat market at 16, progressed to meat cutter, and at 19 set up his own business which he ran as both a meat-market and grocery for 31 years. Moving from one location to another, mostly in the central blocks of Red River, he at one time owned five markets (Mayner, 1974) (Figure 4.2).

Social life is largely unrecorded, though Mexicans apparently participated in the gambling mania, especially poker games, that drew the dismay of the Anti-Gambling Association Chicago in the 1890s. Their investigation of Austin showed that "In the public houses all classes may



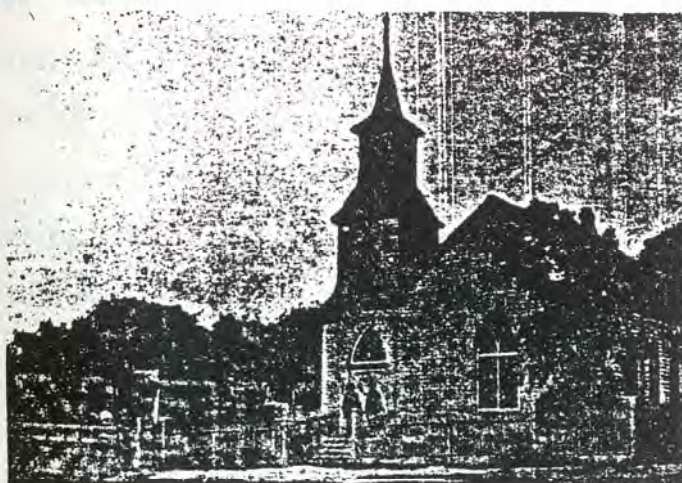
Figure 4.1. Ben Garza, wearing apron, in front of his business on East 6th Street about 1910; Austin History Center, Austin

be found around the table -- Americans, of high and low degree, Mexicans and even Chinese" (Quinn, 1892; p. 50).

SWEDISH TENACITY

Though the influx of Swedes to the area slowed down, consolidation of the community strengthened and broadened in the range of shared activities over the years. Deliberate attempts to hold on to their heritage only began to erode after World War I when Swedish boys, having fought alongside Americans, returned to Austin and asked that their church services be conducted in the English language. In 1910 there were seven Swedish organizations affiliated with the First Swedish Baptist Church, the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church. The churches stood within a couple of blocks of each other in the Eighth Ward (Figure 4.3).

Though no permanent schools were established, children attended parochial school for several weeks each summer, taught by young men from Bethany College, a Swedish Lutheran institution in Kansas. Boys and girls received instruction in the Swedish language (which they still spoke at home), in the history of religion and their church, and to a lesser



Den första svenska metodistkyrkan i Texas, byggd av Svenska Kullen i Austin, Texas, 1874.

Figure 4.3. Gethsemane Swedish Methodist Church on Congress Avenue; Austin History Center, Austin

extent their Swedish cultural heritage. Adults in the community enjoyed musical and talent shows and for a long time favored literary meetings, at first in Swedish but later in English. To strengthen ethnic ties, the Posten, a Swedish-language newspaper was founded in 1893. Published on Thursdays, the offices were housed in the same downtown block as one of the German weeklies.

Several of Austin's Swedes prospered as merchants and bankers, and became involved with the University. Though there had been notable advances in means of transportation, and a broadening of occupational scope, many Swedish families chose to stay either in or close by the original Swedish Hill settlement as shown in Figure 3.3.

THE GERMANS

For the Germans also this was a period of diversification of social and commercial involvement in Austin without a loosening of cultural ties (Figure 3.4). Living in adjacent neighborhoods, the Swedes and Germans coexisted harmoniously but pursued different lifestyles (Figure 4.4). Religious demands were met with a Methodist Episcopal Church and St. Martin's Evangelical Lutheran Church east of Congress Avenue



Figure 4.4. Marriage between members of German and Swedish families in Austin; Jennie Bickler married Robert Swenson in 1907; Austin History Center, Austin

on 13th Street. Catholics continued to worship at St. Mary's in the center of town.

Music remained the favorite social medium (Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6). Besides the Saengerrunde, Besserer's Military Band and Orchestra was based downtown on East 7th Street. The Germans also ran an old ladies' home in Hyde Park, a weekly gardening club, the Turn Verein (Gymnastics Club) which met twice a month at Jaccoby's Garden on West 15th Street, and the flourishing Germania Society which met near the Das Wochenblatt office on 9th Street, a newspaper vying with the Texas Vorwaerts across the street.

Financially successful Germans tended to be American in their approach to business, but retained German surroundings socially and at home. Interestingly, the pattern of their settlement, despite the clustering, revealed an integration into Austin's economic and social hierarchy as expressed in Burgess' concentric ring theory. Many of the Germans were successful, and their choice of cluster location showed a preference for the more desirable residential section of the city. Walter Tips lived in a splendid house on Lavaca, a few minutes from the central business district. The owner of a wholesale and retail business on Congress Avenue, vice-president of Austin National Bank and a big stockholder



Figure 4.5. Austin Saengerrunde, 1879-1911;
Austin History Center, Austin



Figure 4.6. George Herzog's Orchestra, 1875;
Austin History Center, Austin

"voted locally Democratic and nationally Republican....He belonged to the Saengerrunde and went often to the Scholtz Garden where there was German singing under the trees at night (Tips, p. 142). His grandson recalled the family home:

I suppose the Tips house could be classed as a mansion....the main house and the long house on the edge of the grounds built by Grandfather for the use of his mother.... the sunken garden with an outdoor gazebo for dining, and the stables occupied the major part of a block....There were such things as the big, concert grand Steinway piano, the library filled with books that bore unmistakable signs of being read, the large dining room with a fine display of sterling silver from two continents (Tips, p.139).

The Tips house stood at the southern end of one of Austin's earliest German neighborhoods, an area in the 1880s had even boasted a 'Berlin Street'.

TWO JEWISH COMMUNITIES

Some Jews were keen to forget aspects of their background. Though at the Tips house "there was always much German spoken" (Tips, p. 144), a descendent of the neighborhood Hersfeld family remembers linguistic prohibitions. Tossing a few words of Yiddish picked up from the more recently arrived East Europeans and Russian Jews into conversation one day which provoked tremendous wrath. The reason was not fear of anti-Semitism, but of being associated with the new Jewish community for whom Yiddish was the lingua franca, who arrived after the German Jews, and whom the latter considered inferior. In Austin the later arrivals were termed the "East Sixth Street Jews", in reference to the location of most of their businesses. Although both communities worshipped together, and attended religious classes and social gatherings together, no marriages nor even dating were tolerated between them and the West side families until late in the 1920s.

For prosperous Jews, life was as comfortable as it was for their gentile counterparts. Jewish shops flourished in the center of the business district. Some of the newer immigrant families lived 'over the store', but by

1910 Jews were moving out, and now lived many blocks further West (Figure 3.5). The Hirshfelds, Heidenheimers, and the Theo Davis family belonged to the Jewish elite, all living on Lavaca, a most prestigious address. Theo Davis' home was on the site of the present day courthouse, and the Heidenheimers, who traveled to Europe every Summer, had a house at the corner of 11th Street (Hanna interview).

Despite moving to residential neighborhoods, Jewish religious and social life centered on Temple Beth Israel which stood at 11th and San Jacinto. For forty years Joe Koen, a Russian immigrant and owner of a downtown jewelry store, served as president of the Congregation. Until 1908 the basement of the building had been empty, but in that year Rabbi Grad, who enjoyed carpentry as a hobby, bought lumber and converted the space into an office, later adding a meeting room. After considerable deliberation by the Board of Trustees, a local Zionist society was allowed to use the room. A benevolent society was formed officially in 1907 to "aid worthy Hebrews stranded in Austin in going on their way". The money was raised by adding a few cents to Temple dues (Diamond Jubilee Anniversary Program of Congregation Beth Israel, 1951).

THE BLACKS IN AUSTIN

Far larger numerically than the Jews, Austin's black population made one highly noticeable shift between 1875 and 1910. Those who had lived in the central wards on the west side of town moved east, though an Independent Methodist Episcopal Church and a Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church both remained on the corner of 9th and San Antonio. As the city grew the early black settlements continued to spread further east (Figure 3.6). In 1907 a high school was built which drew many families from alley residences in the well-to-do white neighborhoods, a venture widely considered to be a deliberate effort to promote segregation. Families in Wheatville up at 24th and San Gariel, and Clarksville in the west, recognized that if more than one child in a family would have to walk across town for secondary education, it might be as well to relocate. They rationalized, "You'd be closer to the church and you'd be closer to this, and to that and to the other, you know" (Simond interview).

It is hard to slot the black settlements into a single urban model. While the clustering on the eastern edge of the city can be interpreted as a poor peripheral

settlement, in fact there were definite elements of Harris and Ullman's separate nucleus theory involved. Segregation, however negative to the late twentieth century liberal, was not a simple division of rich and poor. The black community was very stratified socially and economically, black businesses were run successfully, job availability was considerable and diverse. The black community had its own hub along 6th Street (Figure 4.7) with a fine middle-class neighborhood to the northeast of this area. Residents of East Austin newly arrived in town or who had moved from the other side of Congress Avenue upgraded the neighborhoods, introducing many niceties learned while in service.

They aspired to live like their employers.

They transferred their understanding of decent living. The big difference was in the quality of life and lifestyle, not in the amount of money made. Men

worked for the mail or as railroad clerks, respected jobs which allowed their wives to stay home. There were women, though, who worked in trained occupations. Besides having responsible jobs as housekeepers

in prominent families, a far cut above being maids, there were practical nurses. They worked for white doctors who liked to employ them to cut down gossip about patients that might be spread by white nurses in such a small town (Simond interview).

Black success was recorded with pride, each individual earning admiration as representatives of their community (Figure 4.8 and 4.9).

Schools were segregated, or rather racially separated between black and white. W. H. Passon, who published a book on the history of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, opened a black primary school in West Austin in September 1908. On the first day he attracted thirty-three pupils, but within six weeks attendance was closer to a hundred boys and girls, about half of them from Clarksville. As well as several primary and secondary schools, blacks attended two colleges on the East side.

A survey carried out to assess the town's housing situation revealed shocking conditions in Wheatville, Clarksville and East Austin. In Wheatville, although many

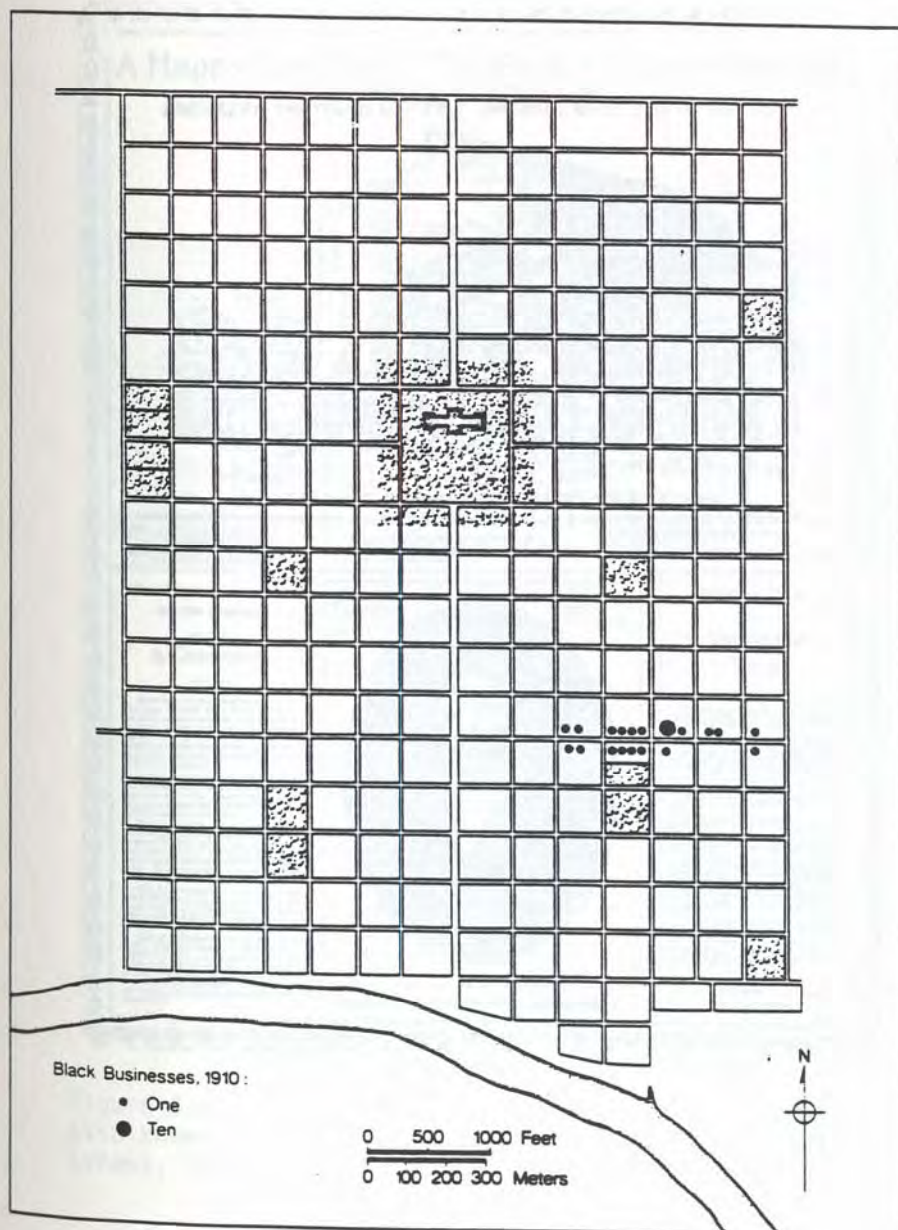


Figure 4.7. Black businesses around 6th Street in 1910.

[illegible]

Figure 4.8. A publication by Ebenezer Baptist Church, also known as 3rd Street Baptist Church, on East 10th Street, 1898; Austin History Center, Austin

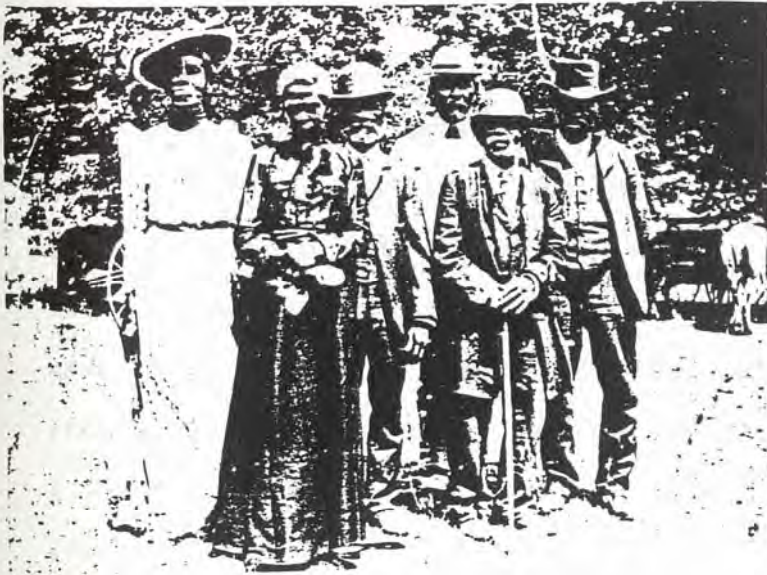


Figure 4.9. Members of the Black community observing Emancipation Day in 1900; Austin History Center, Austin

residents owned their own homes which reduced overcrowding, the streets were appalling.

The garbage and waste are scattered about the lots and alleys. Why should they collect it, since the city wagons rarely, if ever, cover this section? Certainly, the wagons go out there twice a week. But for what purpose? To collect garbage and waste? No, to dump the garbage and waste they have collected from other sections.... Frequently, the wagons are emptied into a street and alley before the dump is reached (Hamilton, 1913).

In East Austin the surveyor found

one particular piece of ground one hundred and eighty feet by forty feet. On this ground there are nine houses. The average size of the houses is a row of three rooms, one directly behind the other. In these nine houses there live twelve different

families, ninety-two people in all. This is a characteristic condition and in no way an exceptional one (Hamilton, 1913).

The report does not mention numerous middle class black families in a comfortable neighborhood on the east side of town.

DIFFERENTIATED CLUSTERING, 1910

Nearly 30,000 people lived in Austin in 1910. In a generation it had evolved from a town into a city, though its growth rate did not match other Texas cities. The findings using the spatial concentration index are reflected in Table 4.2. and shows the highest concentration score for an ethnic group at this time was for the Mexicans in the southwest quadrant of the city, $S_x = .6340$. The Swedes in the northeast have the second highest spatial concentration score, $S_x = .4559$. The score of the Jews in the southeast, $S_x = .2466$ is the third highest but the score $S_x = .0804$, for Jews in the southwest shows the second cluster of Jews in 1910. The Germans also had two residential clusters in 1910, in the northwest, $S_x = .1514$, and a cluster in the southeast, was barely measurable at $S_x = .0027$.

Table 4.2

Spatial Concentration of Ethnic Groups by QuadrantAustin, 1910

	$x_g/T_g \geq$	x/T	T	T _g	x _g	x	x_g/x	(T-x) _g	(T-x)	$\frac{(T-x_g)}{T-x}$	S _x
SE											
Jews	.0704 \geq	.0387	929	270	19	36	.5277	251	893	.2811	.2466
Blacks	.5148 \geq	.4650	929	270	139	432	.3217	131	497	.2636	.0581
Germans	.2926 \geq	.2745	929	270	79	255	.3098	191	674	.2834	.0264
SW											
Mexicans	.3915 \geq	.1130	929	212	83	105	.7905	129	824	.1565	.6340
Jews	.0519 \geq	.0387	929	212	11	36	.3055	201	893	.2251	.0806
Irish	.0424 \geq	.0419	929	212	9	39	.2308	203	890	.2281	.0027
NE											
Blacks	.5612 \geq	.4650	929	294	165	432	.3819	129	497	.2595	.1224
Swedes	.1565 \geq	.0667	929	294	46	62	.7419	248	867	.2860	.4559
NW											
Germans	.4575 \geq	.2745	929	153	70	255	.2745	83	674	.1231	.1514
Irish	.0523 \geq	.0419	929	153	8	39	.2051	145	890	.1129	.0422

With no industrial base, nor other reason for settlers to choose this location over others, did the pattern of ethnic settlement match that of ethnic settlement elsewhere, or was the continued clustering and movement towards acculturation attributable to the people themselves?

CHAPTER FIVE

URBAN MODELS AND AUSTIN'S ETHNIC SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In drawing together the findings of this study on ethnic settlement in Austin, Texas, this chapter must be divided into two sections. The first will review the status of each of the six groups, seeing whether their settlement pattern and lifestyle had changed between the years 1875 and 1910. The second part will set Austin into the broader context of ethnic settlement, seeking to establish comparisons between the small southern city in the United States and cities elsewhere in different centuries. This section will address the traditional theoretical urban models to see if Austin conforms to one or other of them, or if they are too simple to accommodate the complexities of the Texas city.

Viewed retrospectively the changes in Austin during the late nineteenth century may seem remote and inconsequential beside subsequent developments, but, in fact, the city's growth during this period was substantial and far reaching. The plethora of literature on urban ethnicity divides reasons

for residential clustering into positive and negative categories. On the positive side, the pattern has been attributed to a desire to maintain religious, cultural and linguistic traditions. However, the negative reasons are given more space. The suggestion that competition for jobs forces a toe in the door to offer more hope if the weight of many is behind the push, is the primary reason put forward for ethnic groups to stay together. Discrimination, often with a racial overtone, leads to redlining or less formal action to exclude settlement in particular zones of the city. Poverty similarly reduces access. Overall, negativism comes up with claims like "ethnic residential clusters in cities seem to be basically defensive and conservative in (Boal et al., 1976; p.87) and "it is difficult to be a minority as a group, but more difficult still to be a minority alone" (Morrill, 1966, p.334). To what extent do the several hypotheses and explanations pertain to Austin? To what extent was the Austin situation the same as in other American cities during this period, or in cities elsewhere in different generations?

The principal change in Austin over the time span covered in the study was the increased size of the city. Initially one mile square, 35 years later 16.4 square miles

had been incorporated and the population had risen to almost thirty thousand. The increase in size, which considerably outpaced the increase in population, occurred as another change, the expansion of mechanized public transportation, made it easier to get across town. But size is relative, and although Austin grew, the major problems which confronted America's urban industrial belt were absent. The cities of the East and the Midwest suffered hardships introduced by their unprecedented growth rate: inadequate housing and infrastructure, an urgency to keep job supply ahead of job demand for the flood of newcomers, means of integrating those whose language, customs, and often appearance were alien to the host community. Thus any claim that in Austin clustering brought about by overcrowding roused animosity against immigrants can be discarded. The plentiful space also precluded one of the commoner settlement features of the larger American cities, sequent occupation. No Austin group had to be pushed up or down the residential ladder to make way for newcomers.

The maps in chapter three illustrating the configuration of each group show the clustering did not diminish appreciably, except among the Irish who were absorbed very fast in the period under review. Statistical evidence

supports the visual, as described in the two preceding chapters. Dividing the city into quadrants, with 10th Street and Congress Avenue as the boundary lines, it can be seen that Mexican clustering was the most dense throughout. Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2 illustrate the changed settlement patterns in the city from 1875 to 1910. Almost all Mexicans, 97 percent ($S_x .7727$), crowded into the southwest quadrant in 1875, and 79 percent ($S_x .6340$) remained there in 1910; a number could be counted in newly annexed land on the east side of the city.

Within the confines of the original city, blacks lived in several clusters. It was only after the movement from west to east in the early years of the century, and the annexation of peripheral black settlements lying outside the original boundaries, that the intensity of the pattern escalated. Those in both of the eastern quadrants, comprising 38 percent ($S_x .1224$) in the north and 32 percent ($S_x .6581$) in the south, marked the western extremity of East Austin, where families lived in homes along Waller Creek. Such poor housing was reserved, as in other cities, for those who could afford no better, for "the damp, poorly drained lowlands were of considerably lower value than the better-drained land, owing in part to the association of

Table 5.1

Percent and Concentration Index of Clusters Ethnic GroupsBy Quadrant; Austin 1875

NW			NE		
	Xg/X	Sx		Xg/X	Sx
Swedes	.4594	.2200	Swedes	.4054	.1723
Germans	.3535	.1402	Blacks	.3233	.1479
			Germans	.2430	.0003
SW			SE		
	Xg/X	Sx		Xg/X	Sx
Mexicans	.9710	.5757	Jews	.6153	.4137
Irish	.5757	.3122	Blacks	.2733	.0867

Table 5.2

Percent and Concentration Index of Clustered Ethnic GroupsBy Quadrant; Austin, 1910

NW			NE		
	Xg/X	Sx		Xg/x	Sx
Germans	.2795	.1514	Swedes	.7419	.4559
Irish	.2051	.0422	Blacks	.3819	.1224
SW			SE		
	Xg/X	Sx		Xg/X	Sx
Mexicans	.7905	.6340	Jews	.5277	.2466
Jews	.3055	.0804	Blacks	.3217	.0581
Irish	.2308	.0027	Germans	.3098	.0264

bottomlands with disease (Kellogg, 1977; p. 313).

Swedes were the third ethnic group whose initial settlement space was affected by the redrawing of Austin's boundaries. The focus of this study includes only the original one square mile laid out by Sandusky in 1837, but when the city was enlarged in 1889, those tidily settled on Swedish Hill found themselves within the city limits. In 1875 41 percent (Sx .1723) of the Swedes lived in the northeast quadrant, but as with the black pattern this conceals the fact that the majority were east of the border. Many years later the centenarian Carl Widen, who died in 1985, recalled 38 families living on the Hill in 1900. In 1875 the northwest quadrant accommodated 46 percent (Sx .2200), and by 1920 three Swedish churches stood here, showing definite movement away from the original settlement and, I believe, indicating a wish to acculturate rather than stay segregated on the Hill.

Numerous Jewish families, some 62 percent (Sx .4137) of the total, lived in the southeast quadrant, the commercial district, in 1875. By 1910 this had risen (Sx .2466). Movement west across Congress Avenue, several social steps if only a few blocks away, accounted for 30 percent (Sx .0804) living in the southwest quadrant.

Most Germans lived north of the capitol in 1875, with a cluster of 35 percent (Sx .1402) in the northwest and 24 percent (Sx .0003) in the northeast where amenities including Scholz' beer garden added to the appeal. By 1910 the pattern had shifted somewhat with the northwest cluster reaching 27 percent (Sx .1514). The German population in the northeast quadrant became less proportional to the total as 31 percent entrenched themselves in the southeastern commercial sector.

Fifty two percent of those Irish who were not housed in lodgings lived in the southwestern part of the city in 1875. The numbers both then and later never rose to even 40 families, and it would have been beyond surprising had they felt a need to stay close to each other in view of their language, appearance and skills matching those of the host population.

Acknowledging that clustering did exist in the early days, and continued quite markedly through a generation, the reasons for its persistence need to be examined. If there was not a space constriction sandwiching those of like background, the explanation must lie elsewhere. The "threat" Greeley identified, not to the minority but to the majority, apparently never surfaced in Austin. Greeley

claimed the "invasion by a foreign group is a profound threat; not only does it imply (despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary) a decline in sales value of one's own house; it is also a challenge to friendship patterns, churches, familiar landscapes and shopping areas he thinks of as his own" (Greeley, 1972; p.62). Ethnic invasion was on such a small scale in Austin that it was barely noticed. Swedish and German domestics were a boon, as were Swedish and German craftsmen. It was fortunate that Irish masons were on hand to assist with the building programs, and Jewish merchants to supply consumer needs. Blacks could be put to work, often in menial household positions, and Mexican presence, in the early days at least, was hardly recognized. Neither census data nor personal recollections suggest Mexicans were employed in any domestic service at this time. So in Austin neither social nor spatial problems were related to ethnic minority groups.

Conversely, no advantage accrued with clustering. Suggestions by Hannertz and Simon (1972, 1976) that ethnic groups could exert some form of political pressure did not apply. Simon's work on an immigrant neighborhood in Milwaukee refers to development providing the residents "with a remarkable opportunity to manipulate the physical environment to

to meet their needs" (Simon, 1976; p.437). In Austin the only group with the potential to wield any political pressure was the Germans whose prosperity and willingness to acculturate made such a wish superfluous.

Occupationally, Austin was a hodgepodge, never industrialized, never specialized, never therefore looking for or attracting those seeking a particular niche, except for the Jews who found commercial space here as in other urban settings. While the American cities of the eastern seaboard and the Midwest drew hundreds of thousands of Europeans whose muscle power was put to use more readily than their brains, Austin filled occupation slots with a handful of European artisans and the unspecialized local black and Mexican population. The last two groups continued farming on the outskirts of the city well into the twentieth century while the Swedes, cultivating land to the northeast, pursued a lifestyle similar, if more affluent, to the one they had left behind.

Gatherings of Swedes, Jews, blacks and Mexicans, and less concentrated but still visible ones of Germans continued, but the antagonism Jakle believed should be anticipated in a clustering pattern did not arise. "If a sufficient ethnic element is introduced, barriers may be erected by

either or both populations to give formal structure to social attitudes" (Jakle, 1969, p. 459). The attitude to blacks and Mexicans, while negative, fell short of actual hostility, and the groups were so distanced socially that the idea of equality was not an issue. Blacks, too recently upgraded from their slave status, were not part of the social milieu, and Mexican foreignness, especially furthered by their rural occupations and use of the Spanish language, resulted in a similar gulf.

If, then, neither animosity, overcrowding nor occupational specialization dictated the clustering, to what could it be attributed? Economic hardship certainly accounted, at least in part, for the continued peripheral settlement of Mexicans and blacks. Though their early neighborhoods on the edge of the city were annexed by 1910, the absence of leapfrogging meant the settlements remained on the fringe. As long as blacks lived in alley housing in West Austin as servants, their residential needs were met. When the community flowed to the eastern section of the town it was necessary to acquire homes despite extremely limited financial means.

Shortly beyond the dates of this study, though belonging to the same period, black and Mexican housing conditions were described in a report written by William

Hamilton, a city public official, and published by the University of Texas (Hamilton, 1913). Wheatville, an area to the north of the original city was considered for many years a black suburb, in the sense of being less crowded and with single family dwellings, though the overall appearance of the area was uninviting (Hamilton, 1913). Along Waller Creek Hamilton calculated the cost of a house and lot averaged \$200 with rental a dollar a week per room, so that a three-roomed house brought in \$144 rent annually, and overcrowding added to the indignity (Hamilton, 1913, p. 55). Among the Mexicans along the mouth of Shoal Creek over 230 people from 48 families lived in 30 houses where rent averaged \$7.00 a month each, amounting to a yearly \$2,520 from a total investment of \$3,500. These conditions would not be conducive to the residents' self-esteem, or to their wanting to integrate with the more prosperous segment of the community. In discussing the racial implications of substandard housing in contemporary Britain, Jones considers "the assessment of 'poor housing' is clearly an ethnocentric one imposed from outside, rather than representative of its value to the immigrants themselves" (Jones, 1976, p.180). There is, though, a chasm between "perceived satisfactory" conditions and the squalor of Austin's peripheral settlements.

The racial component of this situation while hard to prove, is even harder to disprove. The combination of economic deprivation and low socio-economic status may well account for the settlement pattern of Austin's blacks and Mexicans during the time period of this paper, but the persistent clustering of other groups is not attributable to this issue.

Among European groups only a handful broke away early on, and in each case it was the very rich who felt either no loyalty or a confused sense of loyalty which led them to isolate themselves and live apart. Phineas de Cordova, a Sephardic Jew, chose to live in the German district of northwest Austin in the 1870s. Swante Palm lived downtown, close to his business interests rather than alongside his fellow countrymen, though he returned Sundays to play the organ in the Swedish church. Tips, Schütze and other successful Germans forged on in their endeavors to acculturate, at least during working hours, rather than limit their horizons.

But many stayed together. Was Austin itself, or were the newcomers, different from those in cities where the settlement pattern changed after a generation? The Jews were certainly no different, residentially mobile here as elsewhere when they prospered, and continuing to

stay a cohesive group even as their neighborhoods shifted. The Swedish community was a distinctive one, an invited group set down deliberately in a single location rather than arriving piecemeal, seduced by America letters. For the blacks, Austin offered about the same opportunity as other small southern cities, and their unfamiliarity with urban ways was less important here than in a larger city. The Mexicans, living in Austin in a city well beyond the borderlands, must have needed the closeness of a community to survive; Austin offered them no inducement or reward. For the Germans, the city stood in the area already settled by many of their countrymen, and choosing this spot rather than the areas of greater German concentration could be serendipitous or, more likely, to provide a chance to be bigger fish in a smaller pond.

Ultimately, then, each group seemingly clustered by choice. No material advantage could be gleaned, no protection was needed, and only economic insecurity forced the pattern. Once the groups had established themselves, the language barriers eroded first, and when they were gone the churches started to attract a broader ethnic spectrum into their congregations: a few years later, young Swedish soldiers resented being preached to in Swedish when they

returned 'home' as Americans. New technology arrived, even in a town as remote from the industrial mainstream as Austin, and the advantage of specialized old-country skills was forfeited when the necessity to learn foreign ways spread. With the workplace and the church becoming common meeting ground, and public schools located in spots to draw from several ethnic neighborhoods, socializing and later inter-marriage became less of a rarity.

The division between ethnicity and race grew more marked even as the division between the ethnic groups weakened. Residential clustering prevailed during the period studied. Improved transportation reduced distances within the city and job options broadened; entrenchment in the local economy increased, the need and even desire to stay close to one's own kind became less urgent and probably less appealing. Ethnic identity became an option rather than an essential, a memory rather than a reality, and the change in attitude was reflected in a gradual dissolution of the distinctive ethnic neighborhoods.

RECOGNITION OF THE MODELS

To set Austin into the broader picture of ethnic urban settlement, means comparing the Austin pattern with the patterns of other cities now and at other times. In the 1920s Burgess suggested a model wherein successive concentric zones circled a central business district (Burgess, 1928). A few years later Hoyt introduced the concept of sectoral expansion (Hoyt, 1939). After World War II, as the instigation of massive building programs and highway development went hand in hand, Harris and Ullman recognized a trend in big-city growth wherein multiple nuclei replaced a city's single nucleus (Harris & Ullman, 1945). Before addressing the comparison of one of these models with Austin in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, consideration should be given to Sjoberg's model for the pre-industrial city which noted simply that the rich settled in the most central area, and the poor on the periphery (Sjoberg, 1960).

Austin's ethnic settlement pattern may also be compared to the compartmentalization seen in traditional Middle East cities where groups were separated according to religious or occupational dictates. Here, too, the poor

were bound to live in less favorable surroundings, but overall the cultural and occupational demands could be met by living close to one's own kind.

Seeking a parallel between Austin and contemporary cities in western Europe, where the sins of empire-building fathers are visited upon the sons, reveals a racial rather than ethnic division. Britain, France, Holland and Portugal were able to accommodate ethnic Europeans recently returned from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, but the indigenous peoples of these regions caused serious social problems. In the primate cities of Latin America, now growing at a rate way beyond those in the nineteenth century American industrial belt, the division is a dichotomy between rich and poor. In some of these countries "poor" has been equated essentially with "Indians", but the economic significance has been stressed more than the ethnic one. In Austin, despite a growing tendency to equate poor with either Mexican or black, other factors contributed to the pattern of ethnic settlement. Because of the straightforward separation of those on the right side and the wrong side of economic and social fences, the comparison of either post-colonial western Europe or Latin America with Austin is too tenuous to be justified.

Although trying to discern a likeness between Austin and Sjoberg's model of the pre-industrial city ignores the complexity of the nineteenth century Texas city, there are undeniably elements of similarity. Austin could not be termed industrialized. It had little manufacturing base, minimal reliance on primary activities such as mining, forestry or agriculture. On the other hand, the accoutrements of industrialization such as the developing infrastructure and diversified socio-economic populations produced a gulf between Sjoberg's model and the actuality of Austin. The model does not take ethnicity into account, and it is necessary to equate poverty with the lower echelons of the community, predominantly the blacks and Mexicans, to draw a viable comparison.

A comparison between Austin and the traditional Middle Eastern city with its residential quarters system is compelling initially because there are similarities in the practice of separation. One difference, however, is that in Austin the separation eroded as each group became acculturated. Here the ethnic clusters could be diluted or transcended, but in the Middle East the boundaries were physically and psychologically impermeable. The comparison

is thus only superficial or, if interpreted graphically, only visual.

There is some slight justification in seeing Austin in the light of the Harris and Ullman model. Though the original concept of multiple nuclei was to explain the manner of introducing satellite hubs in an industrial area is different, the self-containment of the Swedish community and the black community cannot be ignored. The Swedes, at least until World War I, were probably able to satisfy their own needs by virtue of their farming background and the artisans in the community who could tackle the range of work necessary for a standard of living well above survival level. Black history has been insufficiently explored. However, this study has brought to light the fact that the stratification within the black community was as marked as in the city's whole population, but whether the full gamut of needs could be met if blacks withdrew from involvement in the city's economy is doubtful. Nonetheless, Austin blacks did form a second nucleus, and for a few years the Swedish community also comprised a near-segregated unit.

The links with Hoyt's theory are evident too. Both blacks and Mexicans continued to live in their areas of first settlement, and these areas expanded considerably

over the thirty-five year period covered by the study. But whereas Hoyt saw a dilution of the early cluster, in Austin the reverse occurred, and the maps reveal an intensification of clustering in the areas of town where the main Mexican and black groups lived. The Jewish community certainly expanded sectorally. Movement west beyond the original city limits and the arrival of numerous East European and Russian Jews challenged the sectoral pattern by reinforcing the early clustering and by placing the outer edge of the sector beyond the scope of the study. No movement, however, altered the absolute pattern of Jewish settlement, a pattern which showed continued clustering and a reluctance to break away and settle in another part of town.

The Burgess concentric zone model is not seen in the settlement of Germans, Swedes or Irish, but the sectoral expansion of the Jewish community falls within the mode, and the blacks and Mexicans also conform to it. The second ward, mostly settled by affluent Anglos and Germans, and with a scattering of Jews, could be compared with Firey's Beacon Hill, in particular the streets surrounding the elegant Bremond block, together a symbolic monument to success and the social establishment (Firey, 1945). Until the turn of this century, blacks could also be found there, but living

in alley dwellings substantially inferior to those of their neighbors.

Can the Burgess model, or any other conventional model be applied in Austin? Which comes closest to the real-life ethnic settlement of the southern city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century? Elements of each are fitting, and probably the Burgess model, despite its apparent ingenuousness, allows the closest match to reality. The final question to be asked on this theme of comparison is whether Austin was an exceptional city, or whether models cannot be applied convincingly to any city once it has been explored and the human element detected behind the morphological framework. Both explanations have some validity. Each city or town is unique, and though there are similarities from one to the next, the landform, economic base, ethnic composition, geographical location as well as its function in the central place hierarchy must all be taken into consideration before relegating a city to a definite slot. Austin was not an industrial city in 1875 or even in 1910 but many cities in America were, and because of this comparison with the Sjoberg model seems spurious. Details of urban models directly contingent on size, such as sequent occupance, are irrelevant in Austin.

Nevertheless, the fact that certain aspects are inappropriate in no way invalidates the models as a whole, and by utilizing them in conjunction with each other it is possible to see how Austin, while not a perfect prototype, unequivocally fitted into the urban American landscape.

Despite an inability to label Austin according to a traditional model, the study has drawn attention to the many facets of urban ethnicity which need to be recognized in order to explain both the stability and the dynamism of settlement patterns. Synthesizing Austin's unique features in an attempt to develop a new model may explain elements not confronted by the traditional models, but such an undertaking offers no expectation of a superior or more viable gestalt.

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APPENDIX

This was
 $\frac{A}{T} = \frac{a}{t} = \frac{A}{T}$
proportion
the sub-area
ethnic popu-

the location where
which the
the population is
portion of the
the city as a whole
as measured by house-

The residential segregation index or measure of the spatial concentration of an ethnic population in a city is assessed by use of the concentration index.

The concentration index or measure of spatial concentration is:

$$S_x = \frac{X_g}{X} - \frac{(T - X)g}{(T - X)}$$

where

S_x = the index of concentration for ethnic

X = the total size of the ethnic population in the city as counted by residence of household head

$X = \sum_{i=1}^k X_i$ where X_i equals the number of household heads in each $i=1$

spatial unit i (census tract, block, etc.)

X_g = the size of the ethnic population located in the area where

$X_g = \sum X_i$ for all i in which $\frac{X_i}{T_i} \geq \frac{X}{T}$

This area (ghetto) is defined as that location where $\frac{X_i}{T_i} \geq \frac{X}{T}$, that is, the sub-area of the city in which the

proportion of the ethnic population to total population in the sub-area exceeds the ratio for the proportion of the ethnic population to total population in the city as a whole.

T = the total population as measured by household head count

located in the city. $T = \sum_{i=1}^k T_i$

$(T - X)g$ = the size of the remaining population by household head residence located within this sub-area, where

$$(T - X)g = \sum (T - X)_i \text{ for all } i \text{ in which } \frac{X_i}{T_i} \geq \frac{X}{T}$$

$(T - X)$ = the total size of the remaining population in the city, where

$$(T - X) = \sum_{i=1}^k (T - X)_i$$

If the proportion of the city's ethnic population under investigation to the total city population is spread evenly within the boundaries of the city, then no segregation exists, and the index takes on a value of zero. For complete maximum residential segregation, the index takes on a value of 100. The higher the intermediary values, the more intense is the degree of residential concentration. An intermediate value can be interpreted as representing that proportion of the minority population which would have to change its residence to obtain an even geographic dispersion in the city.

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