



THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON STUDENT GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION SUMMARY

RESOLUTION NUMBER 18-25

Title: Renaming Davis Hall

Date Passed: 04/14/2020

RECOMENDATIONS

Student Government recommends that UTA rename the administrative building on campus currently called “Davis Hall,” named after Dean E.E. Davis so that we no longer memorialize a president that does not represent our university today. Additionally, Student Government recommends forming a committee comprised of university administrators and students with the purpose of finding a suitable namesake for the building.

STUDENT NEED

UTA is proudly one of the most diverse universities in the nation, coming in at number five in terms of racial and ethnic diversity. E.E. Davis was president of UTA (then dean of North Texas Agricultural College) from 1925 to 1946, while the school was racially segregated. He held deeply prejudiced views towards those that were economically disadvantaged, intellectually challenged, and ethnic minorities. In light of this information, students do not feel comfortable with such a person being commemorated on our campus, even though his views were not unusual for the time period.

PROCESS

The concern came to us originally in a resolution asking for UTA to rename the University Center, named after E.H. Hereford. Students claimed Hereford held racist attitudes, and they wanted his name taken off the University Center. They also advocated for the removal of his bust. Due to this, students investigated E.E. Davis and learned about his controversial history. The Hereford resolution never passed due to a lack of physical evidence, but a plethora of literature was found on E.E. Davis to support this resolution.

This resolution has been in the Student Senate for nearly 2 years and it’s reasoning is, Student Senators wanted to read through every piece of information given to them and find a list of names deemed worthy for its replacement if they felt it needed to be replaced – which they consequently did.

Student Senators of all backgrounds have had to read and re-read literature that was very harsh and racially demeaning, so the process and subsequent decision to remove Davis' name from our campus and ultimately rename the building, was not an easy and hurried one.

RESEARCH

Work on this resolution began in 2018 by getting in touch with Shelby Boseman, Chief Legal Officer and University Attorney of UTA. Mr. Boseman and staff at the Library compiled literature, novels, and state legislation bills, that included pieces authored by E.E. Davis himself, as well as newspaper articles written about him from The Dallas Morning News, Fort Worth Star Telegram, and The Shorthorn.

Then-University President, Dr. Vistasp Karbhari, initiated and tasked a student committee outside of the Student Senate that included students in Cultural Organizations to discuss the renaming of the building and the implications of Davis' racist views. His biography and obituary were also provided. In addition, literature from the years that he was alive and working at UTA was included to get a better understanding of the political climate and common views held during the time.

The following are quotes from Davis, article excerpts, and conclusions formed from the aforementioned documentation:

- Senators read *Care of The Feeble-Minded & Insane in* Texas in its entirety. The book discusses people with mental disabilities and how they should be cared for and regarded. The opinion of the majority was that eugenics was acceptable and seen as the best option during this time. Davis said in regard to the poor and feeble-minded that there was as a “rapid increase in the human scrubs and runts, who are the children and the grandchildren of hundreds of people who are now being cared for.” He also mentions that, “These unfit people were once swept away by epidemics, but now they are being allowed by charity to multiply rapidly.”
- Davis expressed satisfaction because he was instrumental in framing one of the first sterilization bills ever considered in Texas legislature, The Sterilization Bill of 1913. It stated that the disabled should not only be prevented from reproducing, but they should also be isolated from society and sterilized. The bill aims at having Texas set this precedence for the country. Davis also argued that mentally insane people should be charged and sentenced the same as everyone else, and there should be no consideration of their mental health. When the bill was killed due to it being unconstitutional (cruel and unusual punishment), Davis claimed that the 14 senators that killed the bill were costing the state millions in care for the mentally insane and other states would later agree with sterilization in the next decade.
- Davis spoke much about rural education and authored several pieces of literature on the topic. It was found that Davis wanted to strengthen white institutions. He claimed the fundamental causes of poverty were “negroes, Mexicans, and lowly whites.” He

supported segregated communities because he didn't want them to bring down white communities. In literature, Davis described Black people as illiterate, Polish people as lesser than every other white, and insulted the Japanese by saying "it would take an awful long time to blast those rats bearing Jap arms." He referred to Mexicans as dirty and illiterate and said their only purpose in Texas was the source of cheap labor. Davis said that "Negroes and Mexicans" are not the source of illiteracy, but cotton production is. He concedes that families in Mexico are not slaves and cannot be sold like cattle, but instead they are most valuable to landlords when they live in large numbers on estates. He called cotton fields "the open-air slums of the south." and said these areas are characterized by illiteracy, high birth rates, and low standards of living. He called the Black, Mexican, and poor whites that lived in cotton fields "worthless human silt."

- The committee also read Davis' biography and obituary. He was President of UTA for 21 years and was regarded as growing it to be one of the largest and most modern junior colleges in the nation. Before that, he was the Head of Education at SFA. He authored several textbooks and a few novels as well. He was unanimously voted on by university officials to be the namesake for a new men's dormitory being built in the 20s, Davis Hall. Years later, the dormitory was renamed Brazos Hall and the name "Davis Hall" was given to the new administrative building on campus.
- 2019-2020 Speaker of the Senate Haley Ariyibi and Vice President Mitul Kachhla had a final meeting with Chief Legal Officer and University Attorney Shelby Boseman and Vice President for Student Affairs Ms. Lisa Nagy, and they gave clarification on the process of renaming. Mr. Boseman said that through his research of the documents provided to us as well, that Davis is presumably racist, however, during this time period, the comments he would make in various articles and literature pieces, was normal. Speaker Ariyibi did however, assert that the resolution is indeed asking for a removal of a man that **no longer represents our University today**, not in the past. Mr. Boseman also went on to talk about the Regents rules of renaming buildings, and social implications it can cause if the building were to be renamed or not renamed – there will be two sides no matter what decision is made. He stressed that at the end of the research and discussion, Senators have the duty to make the best decision they feel is necessary for the betterment of the University for decades to come.

RESULTS

The Special Affairs Committee felt that this resolution was necessary to accurately represent our university today and ensure that students feel welcomed, included, and comfortable. The image and message that we as a university send to current and prospective students is an important one. Senators started work on this resolution in Fall 2018 and it continued through Spring 2020, so the decision was not made lightly. E.E. Davis made notable contributions to the growth and expansion of UTA, but the committee believed that he should not be memorialized on a campus as modern and diverse as UTA because his views are now outdated, unacceptable, and deeply offensive.

In committee we voted on the resolution and it passed (5-0-0). We then took our resolution to the General Body and it passed as well (15-2-5).



Resolution 18-25

“Renaming Davis Hall”

Authored by:	Aakankhya Patro, Tyrin Pritchett, Landry Rhodes, Leslie Hutchison, and Camryn Valencia
Sponsored by:	Jenikumari Patel
Date Submitted:	11-12-18
Date Considered:	
Committee:	Special Affairs
Whereas:	The University of Texas at Arlington prides itself on its culturally diverse population; and
Whereas:	In recent events, the student body has learned the history of E.E. Davis’s tenure at UTA; and
Whereas:	During his time here at UTA he authored books with racist undertones and used rhetoric that does not represent the standards that our university has set for itself today; and
Whereas:	Students feel as though Davis’ legacy questions a component of The Maverick Way, Diversity and Inclusion; and
Whereas:	Davis Hall memorializes the legacy of E.E. Davis and is the main administrative building on campus.
Be It Therefore Resolved That:	The University of Texas at Arlington consider renaming Davis Hall to no longer memorialize a president that does not represent our university today.
Be It Further Resolved That:	The university form a committee of administrators and students to research and select an individual for the namesake of Davis Hall.

Davis Hall Task Force Recommendation
November 9, 2020
Dr. Teik Lim, President ad interim:

Thank you for convening this task force to craft a recommendation regarding Student Government Resolution 18-25: Renaming Davis Hall. We have reviewed all research conducted by the Student Senate, as well as pertinent information found by the E. H. Hereford Task Force in 2018. It is our unanimous recommendation to go forth with removing E.E. Davis' name from the administrative building on The University of Texas at Arlington's campus.

Following evaluation of all documents presented by both groups, the conclusion we came to was clear. Davis' views and values expressed in his research and statements regarding minorities and eugenics do not represent the university that we are today. The things that Davis stood for paint a stark image of the person he was – racist, ableist, and bigot. His actions have been described by committee members as “atrocious” and “irredeemable.” As a university, we hardly resemble the small, racially segregated junior college that we once were. Davis is not someone that we can memorialize in good conscience with physical recognition on our campus.

Furthermore, it is important to note that as the head of a university, you are not afforded the luxury of separating your personal views from your employment. The problematic details that we have uncovered directly relate to Davis's position as dean. He regarded the lives of racial and ethnic minorities as having a lesser value than whites, diminished their life's worth to cotton-subsisting and farm work, and advocated for the removal of mentally disabled citizens from society. The evidence proving these claims is undeniable and cannot be ignored.

Moreover, in considering the historical context of the time period, Davis' beliefs are still unjustified. His views may have been more common during his tenure, but still not widely acceptable even then. For example, Davis was instrumental in framing and bringing forth the Sterilization Bill of 1913 to the Texas Legislature. The bill called for the sterilization of all mentally disabled persons, alleging that they were unfit to bear children. The bill was killed due to its violation of the Eighth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Following the bill's failure to pass, Davis stated that senators would soon realize that the care of feeble-minded individuals was costing the State millions and they would eventually have to pass a similar bill. There is no historical pretext that can substantiate his pro-eugenics stance.

As a committee that was charged with reviewing this serious matter, it is our duty to make a well-informed and morally sound decision. After reviewing research, considering expert opinions, and deliberating, we feel that this is the best and only course of action for UT Arlington as an institution. Building names are honorific, and simply put, it is a disservice to our community to honor E.E. Davis' legacy.

Respectfully Submitted

Dr. W. Marvin Dulaney, co-chair
Blaize LaFleur, co-chair

Table of Contents

Excerpts have been taken from the writings of E.E. Davis. Excerpts from the following writings are included and begin on the page numbers indicated.

E.E. Davis Bibliography.....	2
A Study of Rural Schools in Karnes County, Texas.....	4
Davis, Edward Everett, Clarence Truman Gray, and Thomas Hall Shelby. <i>A study of rural schools in Karnes county</i> . No. 2246. The University, 1922	
A Report on Illiteracy in Texas	11
University of Texas. Division of Extension, and Edward Everett Davis. <i>A Report on Illiteracy in Texas: Bureau of Extension</i> . The University, 1923.	
A Study of Rural Schools in Smith County, Texas	14
Davis, Edward Everett, and F. J. Adams. "A Study of Rural Schools in Smith County, Texas." (1923)	
King Cotton Leads Mexicans Into Texas	20
Davis, E. E. "King Cotton Leads Mexicans Into Texas." <i>The Texas Outlook</i> 9.4 (April 1925): 7- 9.	
A Texas Civics	22
Davis, Edward E. <i>A Texas Civics</i> . Southern Publishing, Dallas, Tex, 1926.	
Speech by Congressman John Box calling for restrictions on Mexican immigration, 1928.....	25
<i>(Included only to give context to the Feb. 24, 1928 letter by E.E. Davis.)</i>	
Letter from E. E. Davis to Congressman Box	28
Agreeing with views of Congressman Box and recommending the book <i>The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy</i> , Feb. 24, 1928.	
To All Members of the NTAC Staff Now on Leave Because of the War.....	30
Memo from E. E. Davis. March 29, 1945.	
The White Scourge	31
Davis, Edward E. <i>The White Scourge</i> . The Naylor Co, San Antonio, Tex, 1940.	
This Depression Piker Alongside One 30 Years Off	43
Dallas Morning News Article, March 15, 1934	
Fears Influx of Poor Class	44
Dallas Morning News Article, August 28, 1927	
Speaker Calls Cotton Fields Slum of South	45
Dallas Morning News Article, February 5, 1935	

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14

University of Texas Bulletin

No. 2246: December 8, 1922

A STUDY OF RURAL SCHOOLS IN KARNES COUNTY

BY

E. E. DAVIS

Specialist in Rural Education
Bureau of Extension

and

C. T. GRAY

Associate Professor of the Philosophy of Education

Directed by T. H. Shelby

BUREAU OF EXTENSION



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THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN

4. *The German People.* Only 286, or less than 2 per cent of the total population, are Germans of foreign birth. However, this is not a reliable index to the number and the percentage of German-speaking people in the county, for many of the descendants of the foreign-born Germans still speak the mother tongue.

There is a very considerable number of German communities in the county. The Metz, Lenz, Brieges, New Bremen, and Live Oak school districts have few other than German residents. In these districts we find German customs and the German language almost as strongly entrenched as the Polish customs are in the Polish section of the county. In the German homes the mother tongue is spoken almost entirely. English is spoken at school. Most of the German parents desire that their children learn to speak English and that they use nothing but English at school. For this they are to be commended.

5. *The Mexican People.* By far the greatest school problem in Karnes County is the education of the Mexican child. The total foreign-born population in Karnes County is 82.9 per cent Mexican. Out of a total scholastic population of 3299, 1497, or 45.4 per cent, are Mexican children. The Mexicans number approximately 6,700 out of a total population in the county of 14,942.

As a rule the Mexican people are very poor and very ignorant. Their standards of living are generally low. The worst of the tumble-down shacks in the towns and in the country are occupied by them. Many of them have very few clothes and very little in the way of household furniture. Often the entire household equipment for a family of five or six could be hauled in a wheelbarrow. They constitute the lowest stratum of society in south-west Texas. Their social and economic status is further complicated by the fact that they speak a foreign language. The language is a modified form of Spanish. Only a small per cent of them know enough English to make themselves understood about the most elemental things. They can scarcely purchase their supplies at the grocery store except from a person who

speaks the form of Spanish they know. Most of the Mexicans are engaged in agricultural labor and are either farm tenants or hired farm hands.

In general, the Mexican parents do not send their children to school. Out of a total of 1497 Mexican children on the scholastic census rolls for 1921-22 only 460 are enrolled in the public schools. This, in the judgment of the writer, is due to five causes: (1) ignorance, (2) poverty, (3) shiftlessness, (4) parental indifference, (5) weakness of the compulsory school attendance laws.

The ignorance of the lower class of the Mexican People is pitiful and appalling. For instance, the scholastic census for the school year 1922-23 was taken while this survey was being made. Census enumerators reported many cases where Mexican parents did not know the birthdays of their children. Most of them could tell the year in which each child was born, but they had no record of the month or the day. Some of them were very suspicious and it was with difficulty that the enumerators obtained the names of their children. For example, one Mexican mother protested emphatically, "Me gota no children! Me gota no children!" But before the enumerator left her premises he found five frightened ragamuffins of her own flesh and blood that to all appearances were within the limits of the free school age.

Many of the poorer classes live in a state of most abject squalor. Their home conditions are almost indescribable. The children live in filth and rags. It is for this reason, no doubt, that many of them are not sent to school.

A very large per cent of the rural Mexican population is shiftless. They hoe cotton during the spring months, pick cotton during the fall months, and clear land and cut wood in the winter. This results in much moving about from community to community and from county to county. A transient Mexican family, relying upon the seasonal work of the cotton crops and such farm jobs as wood chopping and the clearing of land, may sojourn for a few weeks at a time in several school districts during a single school year. This

had a few Mexican children enrolled in them. Of the 1,406 pupils included in this table 146 are Mexicans. As Table No. 4 shows, most of the Mexican children are "over-age." This, in part, accounts for the "over-age" pupils in the Non-Mexican and mixed schools from which age-grade data were compiled.

3. *The Mexican Pupils.* There are six Mexican country schools in Karnes County. Age-grade classification sheets were obtained from five of them. Of the 189 pupils enrolled in these five schools, 151 were in the first grade; 26, in the second grade; 8, in the third grade; and 4, in the fourth grade. An examination of Table No. 4 shows that out of the 151 pupils in the first grade 111 are over-age, 2 are under-age, and 38 of the normal age for first grade pupils. The "over-age" Mexican pupils in the first grade run as follows: 18 are nine years old; 20 are ten years old; 14 are eleven years old; 26 are twelve years old; 13 are thirteen years old; 16 are fourteen years old; 3 are fifteen years old; and 1 is seventeen years old. Seventy-three per cent of the pupils in the five Mexican schools are "over-age."

There are very few schools in the county that do not have some Mexican children in attendance. It may be that the advancement of the Mexican children in the schools with the American children is somewhat better than it is in the schools that have none except Mexican children in attendance. However, the fact remains that practically all of the Mexican children are in the first and second grades. No separate age-grade data were obtained for the Mexican children in the schools of mixed Mexican and American attendance, but the County Superintendent estimated that there were not more than thirty Mexican pupils in all of the country schools of the county that were above second grade.

This is speaking for a rural Mexican scholastic population of 1,497 children, 460 of whom were enrolled in school.

4. *Separate Schools for the Mexican Children.* The more thoughtful representatives of the Mexican race are opposed to any general policy of separate schools for the Mexican children. The Mexicans are legally classed as

TABLE NO.3

Age-Grade Classification of Pupils

(This includes 1,406 pupils enrolled in 32 rural Schools none of which is a purely Mexican school. There are a few Mexican children enrolled in these schools, the total number in all the schools being 146.)

Grades	Sex	Age																			Totals
		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 and over		
1	Boys		5	17	60	47	24	24	16	10	2	10									215
	Girls		15	50	37	25	11	10	7	3	1										159
2	Boys				9	23	26	21	9	6	5	3	1								103
	Girls				15	38	13	5	5	4	4	2	1								87
3	Boys				1	10	26	20	20	15	8	3									103
	Girls				9	28	34	8	5	7	4	2									97
4	Boys					1	5	14	23	22	13	9	3								90
	Girls					10	15	22	15	9	7	4	1								83
5	Boys							4	24	20	21	14	3								86
	Girls							1	8	15	9	8	5	1	1						64
6	Boys							1	6	13	15	9	19	3	2						68
	Girls							4	14	14	8	4	4	2							50
7	Boys									5	13	20	8	2							48
	Girls									21	14	12	1	1							49
8	Boys										2	9	10	5	5	1					32
	Girls										4	12	7	8	4	1					36
9	Boys										1	1	6	1	2	1					12
	Girls										1	5	4	3	1						14
10	Boys													1	7	1				1	1
	Girls																				9
11	Boys																				
	Girls																				
12	Boys																				
	Girls																				
Total - -	Boys		5	17	70	81	81	84	98	91	80	78	50	11	9	2					758
	Girls		15	65	84	77	73	64	61	68	53	45	24	14	4	1					648
																					1406

white and many of those of the better classes are white both in body and in spirit and have come to Texas to live as permanent American citizens. They should be accorded full rights to the free school system.

In general, it should be stated that separate schools are preferable for both the Mexicans and the Americans. That is the case in most of the instances where separate schools

TABLE NO. 4

Age-Grade Classification of Mexican Pupils

(This table includes 189 Mexican children taken from five rural schools with none but Mexican children enrolled in them.)

Grades	Sex	Age																			Totals
		4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 and over		
1	Boys		1		11	11	14	14	8	12	9	12									93
	Girls			1	4	12	4	6	6	14	4	4	3							1	58
2	Boys							9		3	2	1	1	2					1		19
	Girls							1				2	1	2		1					7
3	Boys									2	2	2	2								8
	Girls																				
4	Boys																				
	Girls								1				2		1						4
5	Boys																				
	Girls																				
6	Boys																				
	Girls																				
7	Boys																				
	Girls																				
8	Boys																				
	Girls																				
9	Boys																				
	Girls																				
10	Boys																				
	Girls																				
11	Boys																				
	Girls																				
12	Boys																				
	Girls																				
Total	Boys		1		11	11	23	14	13	16	12	15	2								120
	Girls			1	14	12	5	6	7	14	6	7	5	2		2					69

NOTE: The Mexican pupils of normal age for the grades in which they appear are included between the zigzag lines running from the upper left-hand corner to the lower right-hand corner of the page. Those to the right of the zigzag lines are "over-age" and those to the left are "under-age." The pupils enrolled in these five Mexican schools are 73 per cent "over-age," 1.1 per cent "under-age," and 25.9 per cent of normal age.

for the Mexicans have been established. The American children and the clean high-minded Mexican children do not like to go to school with the dirty "greaser" type of

Mexican child. It is not right that they should have to do so. The better thing is to put the "dirty" ones into separate schools till they learn how to "clean up" and become eligible to better society.

Again, wherever there are enough Mexican children to justify it, it is much better for them to be provided with separate schools or with special rooms and special classes till they have passed through the first and second grades of the elementary schools. By that time they will have gained a sufficient knowledge of school life and the English language to enable them to fit with better advantage into the classes with the American children. The Mexican child of the first or the second grade in a large class of American children, being taught in the English language that it does not understand, is almost hopelessly handicapped. It would fare much better in a special class or in a special school for Mexican children only.

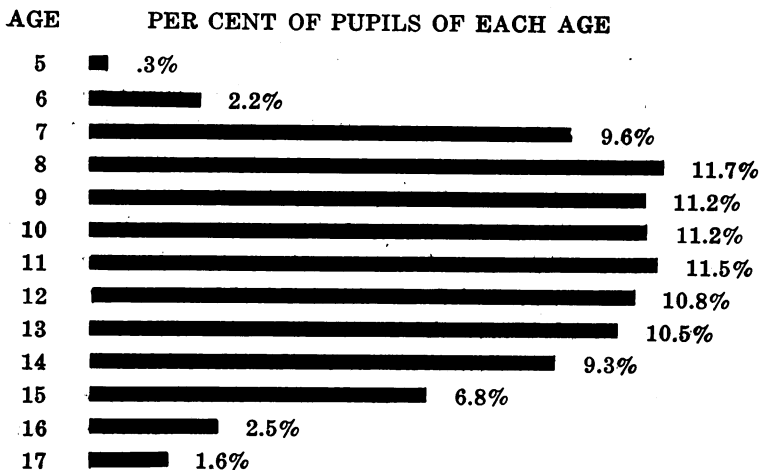


DIAGRAM 5. The Ages of 1,406 Pupils Enrolled in Thirty-two Rural Schools of Karnes County.

A REPORT ON ILLITERACY IN TEXAS

Davis, E.E. (1923). *A report on illiteracy in Texas*. (Bulletin 2328, July 22, 1923). University of Texas at Austin.

<https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=jgAzH3LHKUMC>

Excerpts from the full report are included below:

Pages 36-39

As to the Negroes: There is less negro illiteracy in Texas than in any other Southern state. Texas stands at the head of the list of Southern states in this respect with 17.8 per cent of illiteracy among the negroes 10 years of age and over. Louisiana stands at the bottom of the list with 38.5 per cent. Negro illiteracy has been reduced by 54 per cent in Texas Since 1900.

The essential factors operating in the reduction of negro illiteracy in this State are: (1) The large free school fund of Texas; (2) The work of the Prairie View Normal for the training of colored teachers; (3) The fact that most of those graduating from the normal schools for the colored have remained in teaching as their life work. According to Mr. L. W. Rogers, Director of Negro Education for the Texas State Department of Education, Texas has more negro high Schools than any other state in the Union. The three factors mentioned above are, no doubt, primarily responsible for the establishment of most of the high schools for negroes.

Viewing the problem of negro education in Texas from a broad sociological point of view, possibly the most hopeful sign is that there is a great, silent movement on, whereby the negroes are unconsciously tending to develop strictly negro communities and the whites, with an equal degree of unconsciousness, are tending to develop strictly white communities, in those portions of the State where the negroes and the whites have been living together since before the Civil War. This change is not coming about by force of bitter or violent racial antagonism. It is the

result of natural, normal social evolution. Some communities which thirty years ago were approximately half white and half negro are now all negro. The whites moved out and the negroes came to take their places. Other communities which thirty years ago were part white and part black are now practically all white, for the blacks moved out and more whites came in. In this quiet and natural shifting of residence on the part of the two races we see the basis of hope and promise for better conditions for both. Especially does it mean better schools and churches for the rural dwelling portions of each race. Where the two races live together in the same community, it calls for the support and maintenance of two school systems—one for the whites and one for colored. It also calls for duplication of church equipment. Duplications of necessary social institutions are costly to a community. In the end, the wealth of the community has them to support.

On the average, in the strictly negro communities, the negro schools are conspicuously better than the negro schools in the communities that are composed of both whites and blacks. In a community of both whites and blacks the schools of the two races are not likely to fare equally well in the matter of financial support. But the whites have argued, and not without justification, that since the whites pay by far the greater portion of the school taxes, their schools should have first consideration in the matters of equipment and maintenance.

It is strikingly conspicuous that in the communities where the whites and negroes live side by side, the negro churches are distinctly better than the negro schools. Why? Because the negro church is a strictly negro institution under unhampered negro management. This is not true of the negro school in the mixed white and colored communities. Its management is a complication of negro and white interests. While the negro schools in the negro communities under negro management, support, and control may not be as good as the white schools in the white communities under white management, support, and control, yet, on the average, they are much better than the negro schools in the mixed white and negro communities.

As to Farm Tenancy: From the study made in Chapter II it looks as if there may be some relationship between the amount of farm tenancy and the amount of illiteracy a given locality may have. Illiteracy seems to be somewhat more prevalent where tenancy is most dominant. There is a difference of opinion as to which of these is cause and which is effect. It is most likely that the case works both ways. To some extent illiteracy may beget farm tenancy and farm tenancy may beget illiteracy. But this does not carry the case to its ultimate and satisfactory analysis. There is a very considerable portion of the most poverty-stricken element of our rural population that is of undoubted inferior mentality. These persons are of the "no account" sort. In their case inferior mentality may be the cause for both illiteracy and farm tenancy. One of the characteristics of the present agrarian system is that it tends to bring the illiterate and the tenant together. It creates a sort of affinity between the two. The "no account" and the mentally stupid are more likely to be gravitated into the tenant communities than into the communities of home owners. There are good reasons for believing that much of the illiteracy, possibly most of it, among the native whites in the communities where farm tenancy is most pronounced is confined to those of stupid mentality. The mentally inferior are more likely to be tenants than they are to be home owners.

But all the shortcomings of the rural schools in the farm tenant communities must not be charged up to the account of the small per cent of mentally subnormal ones designated above. The imperfect rural school is often made more imperfect by the numerous aggravations of farm tenancy. The farm tenant is in an unnatural economic situation. The natural thing is that the farmer should own the land he cultivates. An ideal system of rural schools can not flourish upon an unnatural foundation. For instance, the writer recently visited a country school with 39 pupils in attendance. The visit was made in the month of March. He asked the pupils how many of them attended that school during the month of December. Only three hands went up in reply. The other 36 were the children of tenant farmers who "moved" during Christmas week.

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A STUDY OF RURAL SCHOOLS IN SMITH COUNTY, TEXAS

BY

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AND

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naturally expect to find as many of them in Western and Central Texas as in East Texas. Surely there must be some fundamental underlying causes for the low property values in East Texas that reach further back than the mechanical and official details of assessing and collecting the ad valorem taxes.

Upon careful analysis of the data available the author of this study is convinced that there are four fundamental reasons why so many of the East Texas counties receive back from the State Treasury each year more than they pay into it: (1) There is a large negro population that are poor producers of wealth and great producers of children to whom annual school appropriations are made; (2) the number of school children per 1,000 population is higher in East Texas than in any other portion of the State; (3) East Texas is in the cotton-producing area of the State, and it seems that the cotton crop throughout the State is productive of rural poverty; (4) much of the land is sandy and thin but well adapted to the production of sweet potatoes, syrup made on the farm, all kinds of fruits and vegetables, etc., which make it an easy place for a farmer to make a living and rear a large family of children, though it is a poor place for making money and accumulating surplus wealth.

The Negro as a Cause of the Poverty in East Texas. Map No. 2 shows the distribution of the negro population of Texas for the year 1920. It is remarkable to note that the counties previously mentioned as the heaviest "dependents" upon the State (Cass, Houston, Rusk, Morris, Shelby, Upshur, Hopkins, Franklin, Wood, Raines, Titus, Camp, Marion, Harrison, Panola, Gregg, Smith, Van Zandt, Henderson, Cherokee, San Augustine, Trinity, San Jacinto, and Leon) lie within the area where the negro population is densest. This suggests that there may be some relationship between the economic condition of these counties and the character of their population.

It is a well-known fact that the average negro farmer is a very inefficient economic producer. He does not possess the skill, farm equipment, and other capital wherewith to

the Yankee farmers of Ohio and Indiana, the rural communities of the eastern portion of this State would have more wealth for the financial support of the free schools and for the payment of the county and State tax bills. Fewer of the East Texas counties would fall in the "dependent" list. Before East Texas can contribute her full quota of ad valorem taxes to the State Treasury, the wealth upon which such taxes are computed must first be created. Just here the main question for the statesman and educator is a simple but highly important one: *If the State can give the kind of scholastic training that will make of its constituency more efficient economic producers, then it can profitably continue its work of free education. If it cannot, it must either limit its educational expenditures or find itself ultimately confronted with a hopelessly bankrupted State Treasury.* This matter is more fully discussed in the chapter on Negro Schools.

Other Racial Complications in the Matter of Public School Finance in Texas. Why do the counties of Caldwell, Guadalupe, Gonzales, Wilson, Karnes, Bee, San Patricio, Dimmitt, La Salle, Webb, Duval, Zapata, Hidalgo, Cameron, and Presidio, fall in the list of "dependent" counties as shown in Map No. 1? The answer to this question is best given in Map No. 3 showing the distribution of the Mexican population in Texas for the year 1920. The Mexican, like the negro, is a poor economic producer. Where the Mexican farmer is found in great numbers, there you find much rural poverty. The per capita wealth of a community is always lowered by the presence of the Mexican agricultural laborer. During the past twenty years the Mexicans have driven a great wedge of immigration into the very heart of Texas. The greatest density of rural Mexican population in Texas is not along the Rio Grande frontier. It is in Caldwell County, just thirty miles to the south of the city of Austin. The inefficient productivity of the negro and the Mexican constitutes one of the greatest of all the economic difficulties in the road to better rural schools in Texas. It is for that reason that the author digresses here just long enough to compare the economic effects of the

ties that are helping to build and support the cities run as follows: Red River, 290; Panola, 303; Limestone, 290; Shelby, 294, etc.

Conclusion. The greatest difficulty in the way of rural elementary education in Smith County is the obstacle of poverty. The same thing is true of many other rural sections of Texas. Chief among the fundamental causes of the rural poverty in Texas is our large population of negroes, Mexicans, and a great many thriftless American whites on the cotton farms of the State. These people and cotton farming are chiefly responsible for the financial conditions of the 112 "dependent" counties receiving from the State Treasury more than they pay into it. Their standards of living are low and their families are large. They draw heavily upon the State Treasury in the apportionment of free-school funds and free text-books. They produce so little wealth that they return to the State but a small amount in ad valorem taxes. ?

The State must continue to help in the financing of free elementary and secondary education, but the local districts must do more for themselves. Too much dependence upon the State is a dangerous thing for the local school district. It is conducive to social atrophy and educational pauperism. Each district should help pay for its schools through local taxation.

It may be that the kind of free education the State is now offering is not just what it should be. It is quite probable that our country schools would be much more beneficial if their interests and activities tended more toward preparation for citizenship, homemaking, community building, and increased industrial productivity. As a plain business proposition, the State will be inevitably compelled to limit its free educational expenditures in the future unless it can successfully offer the kind of education that will make for thrift and more efficient economic productivity on the part of its constituents. East Texas is suffering from under productivity. It will remain as a charge upon the rest of the State until the day comes when through

CHAPTER XI

THE NEGRO SCHOOLS

There are 17,246 negroes in Smith County. They compose 41.3 per cent of the entire population. Most of them live in the country. There are 40.5 per cent of the negro farmers classified by the United States Bureau of the Census as home owners. However, it must not be inferred that the negroes possess 40 per cent of the rural wealth of the county. Most of the farms owned by negroes are very small. The negroes own and control very little of the county's wealth, quite probably less than 10 per cent of it.

In Chapter I we took notice of the very small amount of wealth per school child in the rural districts. The poverty of the negro is one of the causes for this. It helps to pull the average wealth per school child down to a very low figure. The negro in Texas is a poor economic producer. He creates very little new wealth each year. The same is true of the Mexican. This is making it exceedingly difficult to finance free elementary education in those sections of Texas where the negroes and Mexicans are most numerous. A great many of our statesmen and educators do not realize in a very clear manner that much of the economic difficulty into which public education in Texas has fallen is fundamentally attributable to the low productivity of a very large per cent of our population. If the negroes and Mexicans were more efficient economic producers, the State would have more taxable wealth for the support of free education. If the State can provide for the negroes and Mexicans such education as will increase their economic productivity, then it can well afford to continue in the business of educating them at public expense. If it cannot provide them with a training and an opportunity that will make them more efficient producers of wealth, then it must judiciously limit its annual output on free education in order to avoid a bankrupted State Treasury.

The abject poverty of the negro is one of the very greatest handicaps to negro education. Since the whites own most of the wealth, it is quite natural that they should balk at the idea of voting taxes upon their property for the education of negro children.

The negro needs help. At the same time he needs to do more to help himself. In many instances he would, no doubt, do better if he had a better chance. He is seriously handicapped in many ways. Some of his handicaps are discussed in Chapter V and need not be repeated here.

Many of the negro's handicaps are the inevitable results, in some form or another, of his living in proximity with the whites in the same community. They are the products of the differences of the social and economic levels of the two races. Often the wealth of the community is not capable of sustaining two school systems in a satisfactory manner, whereas, it could sustain one. As a result the schools for both races usually suffer. In general, the poorest schools for both the whites and the blacks are to be found in the mixed white and black communities. On the other hand, as a rule, the best white schools are usually found in the predominantly white communities and the best negro schools in the predominantly negro communities.

The negro must work out most of his own educational and economic salvation. His best opportunity to do so is in the community of home-owning people of his own race.

Up to date, either directly or indirectly, the white man has paid most of the bills for the negro's education. It is the white man who pays most of the State school taxes and most of the local school taxes. Most of the education the negro race has received is the product of the white man's effort in some form or another. But the negro must do more for himself. His best opportunity to do and build for himself is in the negro community, just as the white man's best opportunity to do and build for himself is in the white man's community.

Both the whites and the negroes of Smith County are to be congratulated because of the small amount of antagonism between the two races. Each race understands the other,

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King Cotton Leads Mexicans Into Texas

E. E. DAVIS, Nacogdoches

THE cotton plant, poverty and illiteracy thrive together. They seem to have a very compelling affinity for each other. The history of cotton culture in America is inextricably associated with that of the illiterate Southern negro. A similar human companion to the cotton plant in Southwest Texas is the illiterate Mexican. So closely are the members of this trio related that an adequate discussion of the social effects of cotton culture in Texas can not be given except in connection with its human counterparts—the negro and the Mexican. And a third human factor almost as deeply stuck in the economic mire of the cotton field is the poor white family leaning upon child labor as one of its chief means of support.

Our Mexican Cottonfield Laborers

The Mexicans were here when Texas was admitted as a State. They were here during the days of the Texas Republic and even before that. Texas was originally the northeastern extension of Mexico. It is very natural that many of the Mexicans and their descendants have remained on this side of the Rio Grande. They belong here. Many of the old, well-established Mexican families are to be numbered among the substantial citizenship of Southwest Texas.

The Peaceful Invasion: Slightly more than twenty years ago, there began a great movement of Mexican laborers from beyond the Rio Grande into Texas. In 1900, according to the U. S. Bureau of the Census, there were 70,981 foreign-born Mexicans in Texas. In 1910 there were 124,238. By 1920 the number had plunged upward to the enormous figure of 249,652. The foreign-born Mexicans increased slightly more than 100 per cent during the decade of 1910-1920.

To what part of the State have these Mexican immigrants gone? In what direction is this great army of foreign-born Mexican laborers moving? These questions are best answered by the accompanying maps. They give one a bird's-eye view of the distribution and the movement of the foreign-born Mexican population in Texas for the years 1900 and 1920.

Most of the foreign-born Mexicans of Texas have come into the State through the ports of Del Rio, Laredo and Brownsville. From these ports of entry, an overwhelming percentage of them have moved on to San Antonio via the S. P., I. & G. N., and S. A. & A. P. railroads. Indeed, San Antonio is sometimes dubbed as "The Mexican Capitol of Texas." On Map No. 1, San Antonio is indicated by the big star in the interior of the state. Notice how the Mexican pop-

STARTLING conditions are revealed in this the first of a series of splendid articles by E. E. Davis of the East Texas Teachers College, Nacogdoches. It is a setting forth of educational problems incident to the influx of Mexican illiterates, who are following King Cotton across Texas. A close study of the accompanying maps may disclose that your community has a part in the settlement of these problems.—The Editor.

ulation of the state in 1900 converged to a center about this star.

But what has San Antonio been doing with these poor people who, with their baggage and plunder, have been crowding into her railway stations for the past two decades? She has been sending them out, in a northeasterly direction deeper into the heart of the state. The Mexicans have moved in that direction in response to the call of the cottonfields of Hays, Comal, Guadalupe, Caldwell, and other blackland, cotton-producing counties.

From Map No. 1, it can be seen that as early as 1900 the incoming tide of Mexican labor had gone some 90 miles beyond San Antonio. By 1910 it had swept still further into the state, well beyond the city of Austin. It was about this time that the vanguard of the invading army of Mexican laborers first began making their appearance in noticeable numbers at Fort Worth and in the coal mines and on the railroad sections in Wise County. By 1920, Map No. 2, following the M., K. & T. railroad and the cotton fields of the blackland counties, the agricultural Mexicans were well on the way to Fort Worth and Dallas. Indeed, the Census accounts for about 8,000 foreign-born ones in these two cities at that time. And it is interesting to note that from Dallas they are spreading out to the agricultural counties of Ellis and Kaufman just as they moved on from San Antonio to the agricultural counties northeast of that city more than twenty years ago.

Many people think that most of the Mexicans in Texas are along the Rio Grande border. That is a great mistake. To say the least, it is a mistake in so far as the

foreign-born Mexicans in Texas are concerned. The great density of rural foreign-born Mexican population in Texas is in Caldwell County, less than thirty miles from the State Capitol, at Austin. In Caldwell County, there are 11 foreign-born Mexicans per square mile as compared with approximately 10 rural-dwelling foreign-born Mexicans per square mile in Hidalgo County and 7 per square mile in Cameron County in the lower Rio Grande Valley.

The Mexicans have followed the Gulf Coast railroad lines across the southern part of the State as far east as Houston. This shows up conspicuously on Map No. 2, but more significant, is the fact that there are so few Mexicans in the counties of Lavaca, Fayette, De Witt, Austin, Washington, Lee and Burleson. Some one remarked, "The Mexicans have encircled those counties and do not seem to be able to penetrate them. Why is it?" Then someone else replied, "That is the land of the Continental Europeans in Texas—the Austrians, Poles, Czechoslovakians and Germans. They do their own work. The Mexican laborer cannot compete with the Bohemian women and children in the cottonfields of that part of the State."

The Mexican in the Farm Community. Of recent years Mexico has been as a reservoir of cheap labor for Texas. The cotton fields of the Southwest have needed the Mexicans. It is the economic pull of this need that has attracted so many of them further into the State. They either work as farm laborers or as farm tenants. Very few of them have become home owners.

A thing of much deeper concern than the labor value of the Mexican immigrant, is his influence upon the institutional life of the agricultural communities where he takes up domicile. Wherever the foreign-born Mexican immigrant goes, the standards of home life and education are distinctly lowered. These people are poor. Some of them are abjectly and pitifully poor. They are under fed, ill-clad and penniless. That is particularly true of many of the newcomers from Mexico. This makes them an easy prey of the unscrupulous landlord. They will accept shelter in the dilapidated tenant house that the proud white tenant would refuse to occupy. They make fewer demands than white tenants that the leaky roof be repaired and the broken window panes be replaced. Wherever the Mexican farm tenant goes, a distinct lowering of home standards speedily follows.

In many instances the Mexican disrupts the course of the community's educational activities as much as he lowers its standards of farm home life. For example, a

flood of Mexican farm tenants have swept over Caldwell County. Hundreds of white tenants have been displaced by Mexican tenants. Some white American school communities have been depleted of most of their white scholastic population. Some white American rural schools that formerly ran with three or four teachers now have so few white scholastics that one or two teachers are all that are necessary. In many of the farm communities of Central Texas that have been overrun by the incoming tide of Mexican immigrants the school property is showing deterioration similar to that of the farm tenant houses. The once well-kept school houses are suffering for paint and the replacement of window panes; while the entire premises present a tumble-down and neglected spectacle. They are the crumbling monuments of vanishing white communities.

Just here, it is well to call the reader's attention to the fact that the attitude of the white American school child toward the Mexican child of school age in Caldwell and the adjoining counties is quite different from that observed in Southwest Texas, where the Mexicans have been in considerable numbers since the beginning of Texas' statehood. In the Southwest, the Mexicans and the whites have lived side by side for so many years that they understand each other and get along agreeably. The Mexican children and the white children often attend the same schools without difficulty. This is not the case in those old, well established American communities, up in the heart of the State, where the Mexican is a newcomer. It is seldom that a Mexican child is seen in the white schools. The white children and the white parents resent their presence. This calls for a duplication of school facilities, if the Mexican children are to have free-school privileges—separate schools for the Mexican and the whites.

The most thoughtful representatives of the Mexican race are opposed to any general policy of separate schools for the Mexican children. They see the line of social cleavage and the wall of cast distinction that would most assuredly result to the detriment of the Spanish-American stock as a whole in Texas. The Mexicans are legally classed as white. Many of those of the better classes are white, both in body and in spirit, and have come to Texas to live permanently as American citizens. They should be accorded full rights to the free-school system of the State.

In many instances, separate schools have been established for the Mexican children. This is, no doubt, the best plan for handling many of the ill-clad, unclean, poverty-stricken children of peon extraction. The American children and the clean, high-minded Mexican children do not like to go to school with the dirty "greaser" type of Mexican child. The better thing is to put the "dirty" ones into separate schools till they learn to "clean up" and become eligible to better society.

Compulsory School Attendance Among the Mexicans. Poor school attendance on the part of the rural Mexican children is a matter of common knowledge to the average Texan. Thousands of the adult Mexicans are notoriously illiterate. The writer seriously doubts if the rigid enforcement of the present compulsory school attendance

laws is even remotely practicable in many of the agricultural districts of the Southwest with a heavy concentration of Mexican laborers.

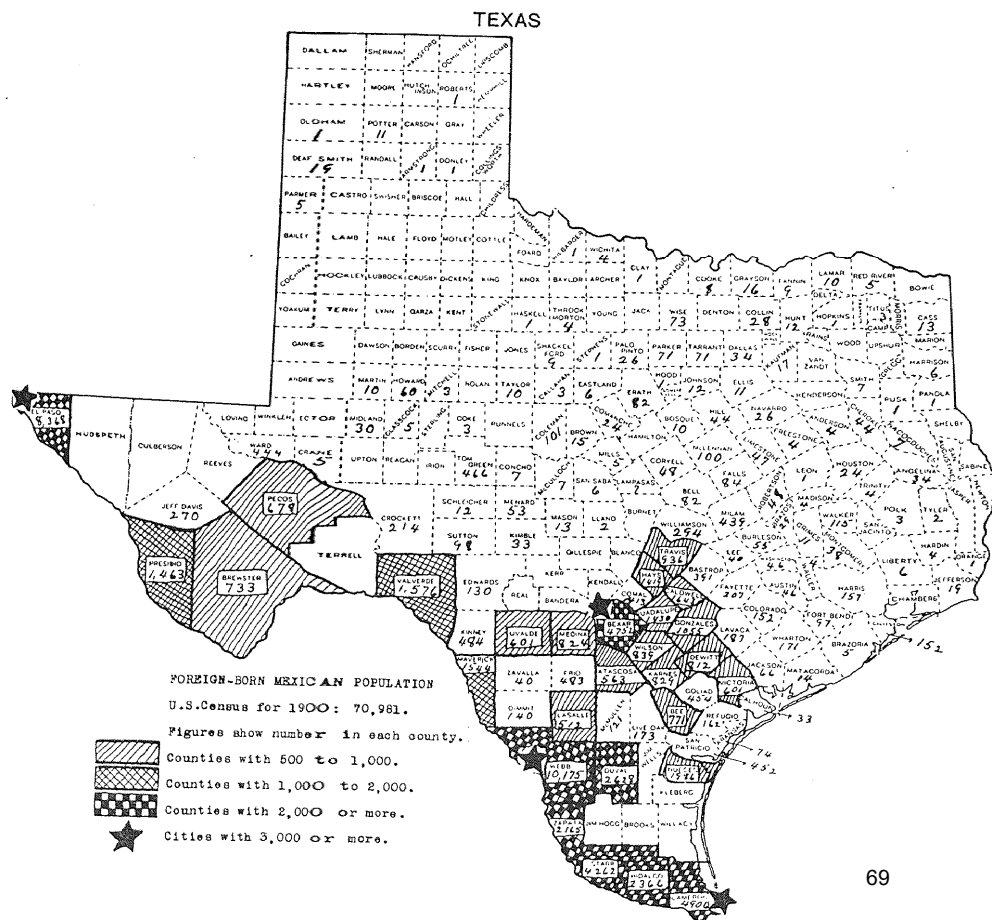
Let us note some of the difficulties in the way of enforced school attendance among the rural Mexicans. For instance, for the school year of 1921-22, there were in Karnes County 1497 Mexican children of free-school age, only 460 of whom were enrolled in school. Most of their parents were agricultural workers. At the time of the Karnes County School Survey, March, 1922, it was estimated by competent local authorities that approximately three hundred of the parents and guardians of the Mexican children not in school were so abjectly poor that a money fine, or its equivalent, of any sort, could not be collected from them. To have thrown these offenders of the law into jail for non-compliance with the compulsory school requirements would have called for an enlargement of the Karnes County jail. If all these delinquent parents and guardians had been committed to jail, most of their dependents would have been made charges upon public charity. More than that, such a step would have completely demoralized rural industry in that vicinity. It would have thrown the entire Mexican agricultural population into a state of excitement and superstitious unrest. There would have been a general exodus of Mexicans from that county. Planted crops would have been deserted by the hundreds. The field would have grown up in weeds and the credit merchants, looking to the harvest months of the fall for collections, would have had to close their doors in

bankruptcy. The practical difficulties in the way of enforced education among the lower class of agricultural Mexicans in the Southwest are more numerous and complicated than those not well acquainted with the facts at close range can realize.

The Mexican Immigrant's Attitude Toward School. "Me gotta no children! Me gotta no children!" exclaimed a Mexican mother when the enumerator of the scholastic census appeared at the door of the shanty in which she and her family were living. But, after persistent inquiry and investigation, the enumerator of the school census succeeded in finding sequestered beneath the floors, and elsewhere about the place, six frightened ragamuffins of her own flesh and blood, four of the number being of free school age. And so it is with many of the Mexican age of peon descent and of short residence in Texas from the Republic from beyond the Rio Grande. They are ignorant, superstitious and distrustful almost beyond belief. Their interest in the public school may range all the way from positive fear of it to total indifference toward it.

Many of the Mexican immigrants are as wandering nomads moving from farm job to farm job with the changing of the seasons of the year. They have but little in the way of household impediments to handicap their freedom of movement from place to place. They are not a part of any community. They belong to the flotsam and jetsam of humanity. But when they settle down and become farm tenants, they get temporarily tied to the soil. They have crops started, or possibly matured and un-

MEXICANS IN TEXAS 1900



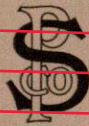
A TEXAS CIVICS

BY

E. E. DAVIS

DEAN OF NORTH TEXAS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

ARLINGTON, TEXAS



THE SOUTHERN PUBLISHING COMPANY
DALLAS, TEXAS

of San Antonio. This coincides almost exactly with the map for the Mexican population in 1920 on page 6. The Mexicans, like the negroes, have a great many children.

It is a fact well known to all students of human population that those races and groups of people with low standards of living produce more children than those who maintain higher standards. If it were as easy to produce food in Central and South-west Texas as it is in East Texas, it is quite probable that the Mexicans, with their tumbled-down houses and lack of desire for education and general culture, would even rival the negroes in the vicinities of Marshall, Gilmer, and Pittsburg in scholastic population.

School Children on the March to West Texas.

A careful examination of Map No. 7 reveals the fact that there is a large area embracing fifteen counties in North-west Texas whose rate of scholastic population is above the average for the state. This cannot be attributed to the presence of negroes. Nor can it be attributed to the presence of Mexicans. Very few negroes and Mexicans live on the western plains. Most of the people living out there are native white, English-speaking Americans.

During the past twenty-five years, as is shown in the next chapter of this book, cotton culture has

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Mr. SPEAKS. Have I the right, Mr. Speaker, to demand a separate vote upon the amendment which I introduced and which was agreed to in the committee?

The SPEAKER. Any gentleman may demand a separate vote on any amendment.

Is a separate vote demanded on any other amendment? If not, the Chair will put the other amendments in gross.

The other amendments were agreed to.

CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, I submit a conference report on the bill (H. R. 278) to amend section 5 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the construction of certain public buildings, and for other purposes," approved May 25, 1926.

MISSOURI RIVER BRIDGE, GLASGOW, MONT.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, there is a Senate bill (S. 1501) on the Speaker's table. I ask unanimous consent that it may be indefinitely postponed, a similar bill having passed the House and also the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent that the bill (S. 1501) on the Speaker's table be indefinitely postponed. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. SEARS of Florida, indefinitely, on account of sickness in family.

To Mr. CELLER, for one week, on account of sickness.

RESTRICTION OF MEXICAN IMMIGRATION

Mr. BOX. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing an address delivered by me at an immigration conference.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOX. Mr. Speaker, under authority granted by the House, I submit for printing in the RECORD an address delivered by me on January 19, 1928, before the immigration conference held in Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C., under the auspices of the Key Men of America, a patriotic organization composed of authorized representatives of a great number of other affiliated patriotic societies engaged in the study of immigration problems.

The address is as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, during the present session of Congress immigration discussion and legislation will probably center around four important questions:

(1) Shall our deportation laws be strengthened, extended, and better enforced?

(2) Shall the endless chain of relationship existing between immigrants and their kindred abroad be permitted to start dragging out of Europe thousands of those whom the laws now exclude?

(3) Shall we retain in the law the national-origins provisions, written into the act of 1924, making it more accurately and adequately serve the Nation's purpose to keep itself American, or shall they be suspended or repealed at the dictation of certain hyphenated minorities of our population?

(4) Shall the quota provisions of the immigration law be made applicable to Mexico, South America, and adjacent islands?

To this last question I shall devote my brief remarks.

The people of the United States have so definitely determined that immigration shall be rigidly held in check that many who would oppose this settled policy dare not openly attack it. The opposition declares itself in sympathy with the policy and then seeks to break down essential parts of the law and opposes any consistent completion of it making it serve the Nation's purpose to maintain its distinguishing character and institutions. Declaring that they do not believe that paupers and serfs and peons, the ignorant, the diseased, and the criminal of the world should pour by tens and hundreds of thousands into the United States as the decades pass, they nevertheless oppose the stopping of that very class from coming out of Mexico and the West Indies into the country at the rate of 75,000, more or less, per year.

Every reason which calls for the exclusion of the most wretched, ignorant, dirty, diseased, and degraded people of Europe or Asia demands that the illiterate, unclean, peonized masses moving this way from Mexico be stopped at the border. Few will seriously propose the repeal of the immigration laws during the present Congress, but the efforts of those who understand and support the spirit and purpose of these laws to complete them and make them more effective by the application of their quota provisions to Mexico and the West Indies, will be insidiously and strenuously opposed.

The admission of a large and increasing number of Mexican peons to engage in all kinds of work is at variance with the American purpose

to protect the wages of its working people and maintain their standard of living. Mexican labor is not free; it is not well paid; its standard of living is low. The yearly admission of several scores of thousands from just across the Mexican border tends constantly to lower the wages and conditions of men and women of America who labor with their hands in industry, in transportation, and in agriculture. One who has been in Mexico or in Mexican sections of cities and towns of southwestern United States enough to make general observation needs no evidence or argument to convince him of the truth of the statement that Mexican peon labor is poorly paid and lives miserably in the midst of want, dirt, and disease.

In industry and transportation they displace great numbers of Americans who are left without employment and drift into poverty, even vagrancy, being unable to maintain families or to help sustain American communities. Volumes of data could be presented by way of support and illustration of this proposition. It is said that farmers need them. On the contrary, American farmers, including those of Texas and the Southwest, as a class do not need them or want them. I state the rule as of country-wide application, without denying that a small percentage of farmers want them, and that in some restricted regions this percentage is considerable. I doubt if a majority of the bona fide farmers of any State want or need them. I have given much attention to the question and am convinced that as a state-wide or nation-wide proposition they are not only not needed and not wanted, but the admission of great numbers of them to engage in agricultural work would be seriously hurtful to the interests of farmers, farm workers, and country communities. They take the places of white Americans in communities and often thereby destroy schools, churches, and all good community life.

American farmers are now burdened with a surplus of staple farm products which they can not sell profitably at home or abroad. That surplus weighs down the prices of the entire crop in both the domestic and foreign markets until it threatens agriculture with financial ruin. Individual farmers, farm organizations, their Representatives in Congress, students of farm economics, bankers, and business men of the farming sections, all are striving to find a means of getting rid of this surplus of farm products, with its dead weight upon the price of farmers' crops. Congress is continually being urged to make appropriations to help carry the farmers' surplus, to levy taxes on farm products, to restrain overproduction, and otherwise to provide a method of getting rid of this oversupply of the farmers' leading crops. The President in his messages to Congress has repeatedly discussed this surplus and dealt with proposed remedies for it.

The importers of such Mexican laborers as go to farms at all want them to increase farm production, not by the labor of American farmers, for the sustenance of families and the support of American farm life, but by serf labor working mainly for absentee landlords on millions of acres of semiarid lands. Many of these lands have heretofore been profitably used for grazing cattle, sheep, and goats. Many of them are held by speculative owners.

A great part of these areas can not be cultivated until the Government has spent vast sums in reclaiming them. Their development when needed as homes for our people and in support of American communities is highly desirable. Their occupation and cultivation by serfs should not be encouraged. These lands and this mass of peon labor are to be exploited in the enlargement of America's surplus farm production, possibly to the increased profit of these speculative owners, but certainly to the great injury of America's present agricultural population, consisting of farmers, living and supporting themselves by their own labor and that of their families, on the farms of America.

The dreaded surplus, which already makes an abundant crop worse for farmers as a whole than a scant one, is to be made more dreadful by the importation of foreign labor working for lower wages and under harder conditions. The surplus which I have mentioned often hurts worse than a pest of locusts on the wheat crop or of boll weevil in the cotton fields.

While farmers, business interests in agricultural sections, Congress, and the President are deep in the consideration of the great problem presented by the farm surplus, and when presidential campaigns may turn on the condition and its consequences, labor importers are scheming and propagandizing for the purpose of bringing in armies of alien peons, claiming that they are needed on the farms, where they would only make the farm-surplus problem worse. If the Government tries to relieve this distress of the farmer caused by surplus production, shall it at the same time be de-Americanizing farms and farming communities and making the surplus and price situation worse by importing masses of serf laborers? Some think that agricultural prices can be sustained by a high tariff. Why have a tariff wall to keep out the products of pauper labor abroad and at the same time be bringing in armies of peons to increase the oversupply inside the tariff wall to the ruin of our own farmers?

Another purpose of the immigration laws is the protection of American racial stock from further degradation or change through mongrelization. The Mexican peon is a mixture of Mediterranean-blooded Spanish peasant with low-grade Indians who did not fight to extinction

but submitted and multiplied as seeds. Into that was fused much negro slave blood. This blend of low-grade Spaniard, peonized Indian, and negro slave mixes with negroes, mulattoes, and other mongrels, and some sorry whites, already here. The prevention of such mongrelization and the degradation it causes is one of the purposes of our laws which the admission of these people will tend to defeat.

Every incoming race causes blood mixture, but if this were not true, a mixture of blocs of peoples of different races has a bad effect upon citizenship, creating more race conflicts and weakening national character. This is worse when the newcomers have different and lower social and political ideals. Mexico's Government has always been an expression of Mexican impulses and traditions. Rather, it is an exhibition of the lack of better traditions and the want of intelligence and stamina among the mass of its people. One purpose of our immigration laws is to prevent the lowering of the ideals and the average of our citizenship, the creation of race friction and the weakening of the Nation's powers of cohesion, resulting from the intermixing of differing races. The admission of 75,000 Mexican peons annually tends to the aggravation of this, another evil which the laws are designed to prevent or cure.

To keep out the illiterate and the diseased is another essential part of the Nation's immigration policy. The Mexican peons are illiterate and ignorant. Because of their unsanitary habits and living conditions and their vices they are especially subject to smallpox, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, and other dangerous contagions. Their admission is inconsistent with this phase of our policy.

The protection of American society against the importation of crime and pauperism is yet another object of these laws. Few, if any, other immigrants have brought us so large a proportion of criminals and paupers as have the Mexican peons. If time permitted, I could present masses of authentic reports sustaining the truth of this statement. As one of a great many instances, I read a news item from the Dallas News of January 5, 1928:

MEXICANS SUFFERING FROM UNEMPLOYMENT, AGENCY MAN REPORTS

"Unemployment conditions among Mexicans in Dallas is the most acute in the history of 'Little Mexico,' A. Luna, operator of an employment agency, said Wednesday. He declared that hundreds of families are suffering severely, especially on account of the recent cold weather.

"These people are badly in need of immediate relief," Mr. Luna said, "perhaps much more relief than is now available."

Note the term "Little Mexico" used in this news item. These "Little Mexicos" are springing up in many sections in and about the cities and industrial centers and all over the Nation. Some of them are assuming large proportions, and all of them together are becoming disturbingly large.

The number of such reports coming from California, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and the whole Southwest, through the press and from public and private charity organizations, is very great and covers the whole period of mass peon immigration from its beginning until now.

The statements made in connection with each of these propositions are presented to this company, containing many students of the problem and a large percentage of those with whom the present and future public welfare is a paramount consideration, with the assurance that such citizens will give further attention to the question and disprove or verify the statements made.

The volume of Mexican immigration, the attending circumstances, and the prospects for its continuance and enlargement are such as to make this an important part of one of the Nation's greatest problems. Mexico has nearly 15,000,000 people who are prolific breeders, capable of producing millions of new inhabitants every year.

Their economic condition will continue worse than ours for an indefinite time and cause their laborers to want to migrate to the United States. Under a well-known law of population, the gaps left at home by those who come from year to year will be rapidly refilled by a natural increase. Thus Mexico will become an inexhaustible source of this low-grade immigration.

Immigrants who have poured upon our shores from Europe and Old World countries have had to pay the expense of land travel in reaching foreign seaports, after which the heavy expense of ocean transportation had to be paid. Mexico's masses have only to tramp to the border. The expense of their transportation, whether paid by them or others, is trifling compared to the cost of crossing the ocean from Europe or Asia to America. The methods by which labor importers reach them and induce them to come are inexpensive and easy. The building of barriers against the flood flowing in from elsewhere must increase the inpouring from Mexico. Unless it is checked it will continue with increasing volume.

The most dangerous mass immigration now menacing us is that from Mexico.

Our efforts to deal wisely and adequately with Mexican peon immigration from the standpoint of public and patriotic interest are opposed

by the same selfish interests which have hindered all the Nation's efforts in dealing with our immigration, namely, the short-sighted, present profit-seeking interests of those who want cheap labor. If it were not for this opposition, the grave question which I am suggesting would be settled soon and the settlement made would be with a patriotic view to the public welfare now and hereafter.

If we ask Mexico, Haiti, Cuba, and South America to consent to the application of this necessary restriction, they will, of course, refuse and the evil stream will continue to pour its pollution into the mass of our population.

Efforts to obtain the consent of foreign countries to our immigration policy have been an unbroken failure throughout the history of our dealing with the problem. More than one presidential administration tried to settle the Chinese immigration question by the Burlingame treaty, in which it was recited that the right of races to migrate was inherent and inalienable. This was to apply as between the hundreds of Chinese millions and America. The United States Congress had to cut the Nation's way out of that ruinous entanglement.

Italy did not consent to our present law, but wanted to handle the subject by treaty to which her consent would be necessary, but the Constitution had vested this power in Congress, and Congress exercised it, accomplishing the Nation's purpose and helping to save its future. Other instances could be cited; one more will be enough. Japan had interests and a will concerning Japanese immigration in conflict with the interests and will of the United States. Every effort was made to avoid having America declare its will by congressional action as our Constitution contemplates. So long as we dickered with that question, consulting any but our constitutional rule, it remained unsettled and troublesome. It would have been with us yet had Congress waited for the consent of a foreign power or left that question to be settled in any but the constitutional way; but the will of America was accomplished in the manner provided by the fathers. The world did not crumble, its peace was not disturbed, but our friends of former times remain our friends, respecting us and being by us respected. Any other course would have continued the question and the irritation it caused.

These and other national experiences in dealing with the immigration problem should be recalled by the public when men say that in this instance we must consult the wishes of the people south of the Rio Grande or farther south.

Ladies and gentlemen, practically all of the reasons which have moved the United States to adopt and adhere to the policy of restricting immigration from Europe and Asia argue for the restriction of peon immigration from Mexico and the countries to the south and east. The difficulties which folly and greed have heretofore thrown in the Nation's path are being thrown in its way now. Let us hope that the people of these times and the membership of this Congress will be as wise and courageous as those who have preceded us.

LEAVE TO FILE MINORITY VIEWS

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAMPERT] may file minority views on the so-called market site bill, and that I may have the privilege also of filing separate minority views on the same bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Vermont asks unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAMPERT] and himself may file separate minority views on the market site bill. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

AGRICULTURAL RELIEF

Mr. CONNALLY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONNALLY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include my speech before the Committee on Agriculture on February 9, 1928, which is as follows:

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to make a few observations in reference to agricultural legislation, and I thank also the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. KETCHAM.

Probably most of you know I voted against the McNary-Haugen bill. I have been abused by many cooperative representatives here who are drawing pretty handsome salaries. But I have been trying to vote for the farmer, whether he belonged to a cooperative organization or not; and what I wanted to suggest to the committee this morning is that it seems to me as a Member of Congress that it is about time for this committee and for the Congress to quit fooling the farmer and really pass some practical measure that stands some chance of becoming a law.

in the enclosed suggestions. If the Bureau should decide to detail Immigrant Inspectors for the work of registering, examining, etc., of all aliens, I shall be glad to be considered in that respect. I would also appreciate it very much if I could be detailed back to the Southern California District, as I spent over 5 years there, (in San Diego, California), having been transferred here last May. I was compelled to take my wife to the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, for treatment and operation; the treatment extended to such a period that I was compelled to ask for leave without pay, and at the expiration of the period of leave, I was ordered to report to the Del Rio, Texas office.

With highest personal regards, and hoping the Box Bill will go through without opposition,

Most respectfully,

H. G. Dunlap

301 Spring Street,

DEL Rio, Texas.

 NORTH TEXAS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
 A BRANCH OF THE
 AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF TEXAS
 ARLINGTON
 TEXAS

February 24, 1928

Congressman John C. Box,
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Box:

I have been watching with a great deal of interest the progress of your Immigration Restriction Bill in the Lower House of our National Congress. You are absolutely correct in the legislative recommendations that you are offering on this important national issue.

I am writing to call your attention Lothrop Stoddard's publication, The Rising Tide of Color. If you have not already read this volume, permit me to suggest that you go immediately to the Public Library and examine carefully chapters eleven and twelve of this publication. You

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will need a lot of the facts set forth in these two chapters to buttress
your argument for this measure. Pardon me for this apparant persumpt-
uous suggestion, but I am intensely interested in the immigration
measures you are championing. The arguments that I am calling to
your attention are so securely anchored in sociological, economic,
biologic, and ethnic foundations that they are absolutely irrefutable.
I know of nothing in the entire field of literature on the immigration
problem half so convincing as are the arguments set forth in these two
chapters of this book in behalf of restricting the lower races of
humanity from free admittance into the United States. If you are not
already familiar with this publication, it will pay you to get in touch
with it and read it carefully at once.

Assuring you that I appreciate very much your statesman-like efforts
in the promotion of this immigration measure in our National Congress,

I am

Very sincerely,

E.E Davis,

Dean.

EED/L

 UNITED STATES SUGAR ASSOCIATION
 81-~~1~~ 83 BEAVER STREET
 MUNSON BUILDING
 NEW YORK

March 1, 1928

Hon. John C. Box, M. C.,
 House Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

Honorable Sir:

Felt constrained to call your attention to the enclosed articles
 about the employment of Mexican labor in the domestic beet sugar industry.

The survey was conducted by the United States Department of Labor
 under the supervision of Ethelbert Stewart, Commissioner of Labor Sta-
 tistics. Applied for a printed copy of this survey but was informed that
 none had been published. Suggest you either apply for a copy or have the
 employee who conducted the investigation testify.

college has suddenly become a powerful factor in education. Within the past twenty-four months it has been electrified and galvanized into a mighty force in this State. Perhaps NTAC's greatest opportunity for constructive and exemplary educational leadership for the next few years at least will be in the junior college field. It certainly looks that way now. If the over-changing political kaleidoscope doesn't get too badly upset NTAC has a fine opportunity to win her educational laurels as a leader among this powerful group of new colleges in Texas.

8. Everyone is aware of the economic dislocations resulting from the war. But culture and our cultural institutions and their personnel have suffered even more severely. What is left of those institutions should now be enlisted to heal the torn world and turn men's minds and emotions to the creation of a common well-being. Such is the aim of that group of Southern educational leaders in planning the three conferences, to-wit: (1) The Humanities in Higher Education in the South, that was held at Vanderbilt University; (2) The Social Science and the South, to be held at the University of North Carolina; (3) The Natural Sciences and the South, to be held at the University of Georgia. I could not attend the Vanderbilt Conference but its proceedings are available in an excellent pamphlet. I hope to attend the other two conferences.

9. While I do not think I am of the alarmist disposition, candor compels the admission that I am very much concerned over what may happen to this dizzy national economy of ours near the end of the first decade after the fighting ceases. Our national wealth is already mortgaged beyond its face value. When a business gets into that condition liquidation usually follows. A mighty shake down could well nigh obliterate every bank, insurance company, and trust fund in the land. But be that as it may, I have a great faith in the ideologies and traditions of the American people and I think such social services as public highways, public health protection, and public education will survive whatever may befall. The intangibles of character are more enduring than the materials of wealth.

10. As I write these paragraphs German morale seems to be cracking while the fanatical Jap fights on with unbroken tenacity. The Jap's toughness of spirit is more redoubtable than his strength at arms. That is a thing the admirals and generals have never understood very well. They handle the problems of transport, men, and materiel with great skill, but when it comes to those philosophical abstractions that control in human conduct their minds do not work very well. It has been that way for a thousand years and many instances of it might be cited. A millennium of very primitive traditions back of the Japanese spirit is resolving the far eastern conflict into a war of attrition and extermination. Iwo Jima was a terrible fight but it accounted for only 20,000 dead Japs. At that rate it is going to take an awful long time to blast out and exterminate the six million ditty rats bearing Jap arms.

11. I was at Austin two days ago. The mild winter and abundance of rain has produced an unusually early springtime landscape in the vicinity of the Capitol City that is a riot of color and fragrance -- bluebonnets, Indian blankets, crocuses, and mountain laurels. Now as I am here at my desk buried deep in my day's work trying to do a man's part on the home front I think of how wonderful a life of quiet escape out at my country place would be for awhile. But would I get tired of escape and would the monotony of the place get on my nerves? I do not know. But of this much I am sure, when V-Day is over and the boys and girls get back from abroad and elsewhere, when the day's work calls for shorter hours

Introduction

Before us lies a cotton field, the great open air slum of the South, a perennial Hades of poverty, ignorance, and social depravity. Between the long rows, crawling on their knees in the terrible southern sun, are men, women, and children gathering the staple. For each hard-won pound a heavy toll of pride, intelligence, and hope is exacted. This is the toll of the white scourge.

Poverty and ignorance have always clung to the cotton stalk like iron filings to a magnet. Too much of America's worthless human silt has filtered into the cotton belt. Cotton culture is simple, an elemental means of subsistence for that portion of the South's rural proletariat composed of lowly blacks, peonized Mexicans, and moronic whites numbering into several millions.

The southern cotton fields have a greater affinity for illiteracy and thriftlessness than the corn fields and wheat fields of the great Middle West. It doesn't require as much intelligence to raise cotton in Texas as it does to raise corn and feed livestock in Iowa. The most serious rural problem in the South is not that of soil conservation, crop production, co-operative marketing, or race relationships, but that of the biologically impoverished tribes of marginal humanity—black, white, and Mexican—subsisting on cotton.

Though the capable and strong may sometimes get sucked in and dragged down by the economic under-currents on the Southern plantation, it is the listless and unfit that produce most of the human debris drifting perpetually on the uneven tide of cotton.

My father brought me to Texas as a child fifty years ago. We settled on the open frontier where the population was sparse and conditions as primitive as Davy Crockett. Our pioneer neighbors were honorable, fearless, and physically fit. But when the pasture lands gave way to the plow, and cotton moved in, the whole order was changed. With the migration of cotton to the westward, legions of sorry humans followed in its wake. Bankers were constrained to lend with greater care, and credit merchants had to change to a cash basis.

After many years of careful observation, I am convinced that the population of the agricultural South has a much larger percentage of human scrubs and runts than the population of the agricultural Middle West where the rigorous climate, the corn fields, and the wheat fields do not lend themselves so readily to illiteracy, low intelligence, child labor, and large families as do the cotton plantations of the tropical and semi-tropical Gulf regions. The human creature of weak body and moronic mentality who would perish without reproducing his hideous kind amid the blizzards and wheat fields of the Dakotas can survive successfully and populate half a schoolroom in the mild cotton regions of Texas.

It is a statistical fact that the farm areas of the South have more school children per thousand population than the farm areas of the North and West. It is a biological fact that those human beings in the lower brackets of intelligence are more prolific than those in the upper brackets.

Fecundity, indolence, and slavery are very sensitive to climatic effects. Kansas never could have become a slave state. It was no place for slaves. The climate was too cold, and wheat could not be grown successfully with slave intelligence. Nature, rather than politics, drew the boundary line between the slave and the free states. Is the rural South, pillowed in cotton, forever doomed to ignorance and economic slavery because of the perpetual downward pull of climatic, occupational, and biological forces?

Most of the instances recounted in this book are taken from the romance, the tragedies, and the comedies of life as I saw them enacted during the half century of social and economic evolution through which Central West Texas has so recently and rapidly passed. The unfenced cattle ranges, the cowboy in full panoply, the advent of barbed wire and windmills, the vanquished cattle baron grudgingly yielding his acres to the onslaughts of the plowshare, and the scourge of cotton with its accompaniment of children workers, decadent humanity, poverty, and misery have been placed in their proper setting and relationships so that the average reader may easily obtain a clearer insight into some of the natural forces influencing society where cotton is grown.

“ H A D E S ”

looks as if the ancient rule of natural selection does not always hold, and now the scummy cauldrons of ‘Hades’ are bringing up some mighty strange and ghastly human fish.”

“I’d allow the joke’s on the Lord, if they favor Him!” Ed came back in a roaring laugh.

Mr. Wyrach’s modest opinion was: “The sooner their breed dies out the better for the rest of us.”

“But they won’t die out. Gonna continue to survive in this Southern climate of cotton fields with places like ‘Hades’ to harbor in,” was Uncle Ike’s idea about it.

Reminiscing on his experiences as a cattle breeder, Uncle Ike recalled with disgust that a no-account native steer could survive with ease on short grass where a thorough-bred would starve to death. And Milton Lagrone’s tenants, he averred, would continue to live and multiply under conditions that would kill decent folk. He wondered what the South’s race of cotton-field workers would be like a few generations hence.

The organisms surest to survive are not always the ones that should survive. The survival of the fittest may not mean the survival of the best.

Tom Leonard insisted that the Greens, the Duncans, the Adkins, and the other low-bred families on old Milton’s farm should at least have plenty of food. Ed Eads, like a cold-blooded Nietzschean, argued that it was not the lack of food that made them half-wits; that they inherited their mental level as sucklings; that persons like old Silas Green should be sterilized and not allowed to reproduce their ungodly kind.

“‘The ungodly shall perish,’” Ed would often quote.

“‘To him who hath shall be given and from him who hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath,’” was another favorite passage of Ed’s.

Uncle Ike felt that ‘Hades’ with its environment of cotton, pig stys, and a devil in the person of Milton Lagrone to superintend it, was nothing more than a sort of natural repository for those misshapen creatures of human cast frowned upon and rejected by the Creator of all that is beautiful, perfect, and good.

“When I see so much misery that could be prevented through scientific, humane means,” Tom lamented as he, Ed, Uncle Ike, and Mrs. Hobson continued the discussion of “Hades,” “I lose patience with the courses in Hebrew and homiletics in the purblind seminaries where I went to school.”

Ed’s sententious comment was, “I know that Hebrew’s the

“ H A D E S ”

edest city in the land. We can recognize it, and we may be able to prevent its spread to the rest of the community as a doctor paints around erysipalis with iodine, but we cannot cure it, for its leprous victims are unhealable.”

“Might as well try to make potatoes grow on punkin vines as to attempt makin’ decent citizens out of them depraved brats of old Green’s,” Ed Eads added in his characteristic way.

“I feel so sorry for the poor little caste-conscious things,” Mrs. Hobson sighed.

But the sympathetic Mrs. Hobson did not understand so clearly as Tom Leonard did, that the insensitive little morons living among others of their kind were mercifully unaware of their poverty and social caste. They knew not pride, ambition, shame, nor envy.

Only those who are sensitive, observant, and capable of making comparisons can feel inferior.

Class consciousness and emotional anguish from the sting of poverty were pains unknown to the flock of ragamuffins on Milton Lagrone’s oppressive plantation. Broken spirits from the hardships that poverty imposes never tortured the unhallowed urchins of “Hades.” Their shapeless, half-wit souls were like unfit coins rejected from the normal course of reputable circulation. They were counterfeits on humanity cast in the mint of fate.

When the doors of the new school building at Clear Creek were opened in September, not a child was enrolled from the Lagrone estate. Socially disfranchised and physically untouchable, they were given a modicum of instruction in a one-room shanty on Milton’s farm.

P R O L E T A R I A N S

"You mustn't furgit, Mr. Leonard," old Silas' credulous wife reminded Tom, "'at simple remedies air sometimes the best."

On the way home that afternoon, Tom met Uncle Ike, Ed, and Harold in the Hobson surrey at a bend in the road on top of a hill overlooking the Lagrone plantation one mile to the south and Clear Creek village nestling in the verdant pecan groves three miles to the east.

"Learn a lot about health, farmin', an' politics?" Ed jokingly interrogated Tom relative to his afternoon among the denizens of "Hades."

"No. But I listened in on the emotional workings and the bitter hatreds of that awful set," gesturing toward Lagrone's flesh pots—"the tribe that an old professor of mine used to call the 'agrarian proletariat' . . . For one thing, they are all confirmed socialists."

"Haw! haw! haw! Ole Green ain't got sense enough to know the difference between socialism an' rheumatism."

"But listen to me!" Tom burst out in deep earnestness, somewhat irritated by Ed's frivolity. "I tell you what he does know. He knows he's inferior, under-privileged, and not getting a square deal, and nothing can make a bitter anarchist so surely as an inferiority complex."

"Don't worry, Sir Thomas! Jest remember 'at ole duffers like Silas an' Zeb an' Mose 'at's barely got enough sense to be ashamed uv 'emselves never can make very bad anarchists—don't have the intelligence. It takes a smart man to be a anarchist—one of the dangerous kind."

"Barn-burners may not be as bad as bomb-throwers, but they're awful damned annoyin'," Uncle Ike added with a worried expression on his face.

Like a prophet speaking with authority, Tom Leonard said: "Some day, mangy folk, like the scum of 'Hades', will challenge the peace of our land. They are increasing at an alarming rate. Zeb Duncan has twelve living children; Silas Green has nine; Mose Adkins has eight and is expecting another. Emptying their unfit progeny into the stream of life at that rate can result in nothing but appalling disaster."

"They heard the command of the Lord to be fruitful an' multiply an' took it too gol-darned seriously—made sexual hogs of themselves!" Ed roared with a waggish laugh.

"They haven't any right to force their runts on the rest

W H I T E S C O U R G E

of us, and society should deprive them of their powers of procreation," Tom rejoined in disgust.

"Accordin' to Parson Plemons," Ed apprized Tom, "med-dlin' with procreation is contrary to the will of God an' mighty sinful."

"But the command to be fruitful and multiply came at a time when the earth was practically void of inhabitants. Now society must protect itself against the inebriate, the moron, and the dope fiend in order to save the race from utter degeneracy. All the syphilitics, imbeciles, and other scrubs should be sterilized."

Uncle Ike had remained silent, though he had no scruples about sterilization or other means of birth control. He thought it no sin to forestall the birth of the mentally unfit. He felt that society has the same right to prevent runts from being born that it has to deny murderers the privilege to live.

"These scabs at 'Hades' are fillin' up the graveyard about as fast as they are the cotton patch—two buryin's out there last week—both uv 'em little kids," Ed observed.

"Ignorance, imbecility, and Milton Lagrone are causing mass murder among the children of 'Hades' by slow degrees. Milton Lagrone is a murderer of the pernicious, non-violent sort. He murders within the law. His weapons are unscreened houses, flies, mortgages, disease, over-work, and under-nourishment. If the tribe at 'Hades' didn't multiply like rats, it would soon become extinct. Its high birth rate saves it from complete extermination through a high death rate."

Tom was a born teacher. He taught under all conditions and everywhere. On the top of the hill in the middle of the road that afternoon, he explained and illustrated to Ed, Uncle Ike, and Harold the biologic principle that the lower the standard of living and the less of paternal care for the young, the higher must be the birth rate in order for the species to survive. The mother bass, indifferent to the welfare of her young, will spawn ten thousand eggs in a single season, while the turtle dove, with higher standards, lays only two. The indigent and ignorant of the human race will continue to have larger families than those who are prosperous and wise.

Uncle Ike regretted that Milton Lagrone was beyond the reach of the criminal code. "Had he murdered with a club all the helpless people he has killed by degrees, the hangman's noose would have been around his snaky neck long ago.

W H I T E S C O U R G E

with you into that graveyard of human aspiration, the cotton patch, find the cotton-picking mother's forgotten child doomed to a life without color, hope, or opportunity, paint still another picture, and call it '*Tied to a Cotton Stalk.*'"

Tom's powerful speech on *Education and Citizenship* the next day met with considerable resistance from some of his hearers, but was given first place in the newspapers.

"Lessons in scholarship should be paralleled by lessons in citizenship," he began. "Scholarship and citizenship are not synonymous. It does not always follow that the good scholar makes a good citizen. He may be a usurer, a self-seeker, or a civic bandit. It is not enough to train for scholarship alone . . .

"Our normal schools are offering courses in methods for teaching arithmetic, reading, and geography. That is as it should be. But it's a travesty on education and a crime against democracy that the colleges of the Southwest do not offer a single course in methods for teaching civics and citizenship! Search all the history of human stupidity," he declared, "and you can find nothing like it!"

The statement drew a storm of applause mingled with hisses and jeers.

Undaunted by the resistance, he continued: "The good citizen must have a comprehensive understanding of his neighbors. In the Southwest we have people of all colors and social grades from the lowly Mexican with his serape and chili peppers to the opulent aristocrat with a superiority complex. Look at the great army of unwashed Mexicans now crossing the Rio Grande in peace, with sandals on their feet, rags on their backs, and vermin in their hair. Into our cotton fields they are spreading like a corrosive blight ten thousand times more dangerous than Santa Anna's invading hosts of 1836! Too much of Mexico's least desirable human blood is seeping into the very veins of our social body

"Why do we teachers," he said in conclusion. "view this ingress of low standards and inferior humanity with such placid equanimity? Is it because the somnolent colleges we attended are totally insensitive to all the forces of contemporary social pressure? Is their only knowledge of the Mexican limited to the Mexican of history? Have they no concern for the Mexican as a social and economic force in our midst today? How much have they helped you and me as responsible citizens to interpret

W H I T E S C O U R G E

village, a festering spot such as Milton Lagrone's cess-pool of human silt had been. The Junkinses chopped a little cotton in the spring, picked a little in the fall, and lived off Uncle Ike's bounty the rest of the year.

"Just three children when I began helping 'em. Now there's eight. That big brute of a woman produces offspring like a human cow—adds a new member to the family every year—gettin' about time for another one now! Don't know whether I've done right or not by feedin' 'em an' keepin' 'em alive. Looks like the more help you give sorry folks, the more misery you create."

Tom nodded thoughtfully. "I heard David Starr Jordan say in a public address one time that nothing contributes so much to the world's volume of human misery and its perpetuation as modern charity in the way it is conducted."

"How did that set with the preachers?" a curious man spoke up.

"Most of them took him to task the next Sunday—denounced him as the chief of sinners—didn't understand."

"I've been sendin' the Junkinses food and clothes for five years. They oughta been unsexed at the start like shabby calves that ain't fit to be sires an' dams for the herd."

"I was with Uncle Ike the first time he went to the Junkins' shanty," said Tom. "Old Jed and three sick children were lying on dirty quilts and rugs spread flat on the floor. The slatternly mother, with a bottle of snuff, was sitting on a rickety chair, squirting tobacco juice at a knot hole in the floor. The filth and odor were awful."

"Just as dirty an' miserable now as they was then, an' more of 'em!" Uncle Ike ranted in disgust.

A knock at the door, and in stepped Ed Eads bursting with mirth.

"Had to take some grub over to Jed Junkins' outfit this evenin'," he began. "Old Jed lookin' kinda sheepish an' kinda proud, said, 'Come in here. Got somethin' to show ye.' So I goes in his dirty den, an' he picks up a day-old brat an' says awful fond-like, 'Don't ye think it looks like me?' Then the old lady fetches another one out from under the cover an' says, 'The very image of its mother.' . . . Darn my sorry soul, if it ain't twins this time! Two more boarders for Uncle Ike!" he exploded with a rousing laugh.

Isaac Hobson loathed his own deeds of charity. "Two more

C O W - P A T H S

sufferers," he said. "Without me, they'da never got into the world."

"How about 1950 or 1970? How large will the Junkins' outfit be then if this thing goes on?"

"If this thing continues," Tom opined, "some day the load of charity will be too heavy to carry. Society's back will break. The lame and the halt will be left to starve on the street. There'll be an awful gnashing hell on earth!"

A gentle tap on an inner door brought silence to the group of men talkers.

"Beg your pardon," came the voice of Mrs. Hobson, "the train is almost due.

Old Nathan, ever punctual and on the job, had the carriage waiting at the door.

"Travel to look into things, my son, not to look at them. Remember, there are two kinds of travelers: those who see, and those who gaze," were the father's final words to his departing boy.

Many times thereafter Tom Leonard pondered upon Uncle Ike's timely admonition. First, he would think of the thousands of traveling Americans blindly staring at the grand, the beautiful, and the sublime all over the world; then he would revert to things nearer home unseen and unheeded by the empty eyes that daily swept across them. Millions of greedy cotton plants devouring fertility and giving nothing in return, like thieves at night, were steadily undermining Clear Creek's economic life, while its unsuspecting citizens stood and stared without insight or understanding. Ambitious young people were looking beyond the horizon for opportunities, but no one had the vision to see that a community must ultimately perish when it fails to retain its best human blood.

After spending the first thirty days of their vacation at Buffalo, Montreal, and Boston, the two travelers turned to the home of Tom's brother, a distinguished surgeon and physician at New Haven. Aside from a pleasant visit with him, they had the mental luxury of some wonderful lectures at Yale. One of the speakers, a great biologist, made both of them reflect upon the Junkins' back at home.

"Black plague and the ravages of smallpox were a blessing to Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," the speaker declared. "They cleaned out the dirty dens and mean streets where sorry people dwelt; removed the morons; and kill-

W H I T E S C O U R G E

ed off the unfit like flies fed on cobalt. That was before Pasteur brought plague and pestilence under control.

"Today the unfit human weeds have a better chance to grow; and blind Christian charity, by nourishing the weak in defiance of nature's law, is forcing catastrophe and suicide upon civilization at a startling rate. God save America from the crisis of 1960 or thereabouts! When the weak become too numerous for the strong to feed, and the back alleys grow clogged with the starving and the dead, hell will rule a wrecked and ruined land!"

After the lecture, Tom told his brother about the Junkinses, the Adkinses, the Greens, and the thousands of other "cotton patch morons" flooding the South. Then they grew reminiscent about the hardships of their boyhood days on the Texas frontier, both of them regretting that a flabby generation was growing up lacking in the hardness and stamina that pioneer privations give.

"These people up East have no idea of what Texas was like when we were lads," the brother said to Tom.

"From the questions they have asked me since my arrival here, I should say they have no idea of what Texas is like today. They have asked a great deal more about vinegaroons, horned toads, centipedes, road runners, badger fights, loco weeds, and desperadoes than they have about the state's resources and development. Their idea seems to be that Texas is a sort of wild preserve for venomous reptiles and bad men."

"Very provincial people—these Easterners. The Hudson River might as well be the western boundary of the United States for a lot of them. All beyond it is a land of myth and imagination."

"It would kill me to be cooped up in the East," said Harold. "Look at Manhattan. No wonder the Easterners have such amusing ideas about people and things in the West."

"Before your arrival," continued the brother, "several persons seemed curious to know if you would bring your weapons and come dressed like cowboys—don't laugh—when they think of men from the Southwest, they imagine sombreros, bandannas, boots, and side arms."

"Wish I'd brought Dad's Bowie knife and big silver spurs," said the boy, "an' given 'em what they were expecting."

The two Texans thought their host was exaggerating the Easterner's misconception of the Southwest until they attended

C O L L E G E

sons with transmissible diseases should not be allowed to reproduce their suffering kind. The time has almost arrived when we must free our race from the bondage of unfit children. Every new-born child has the right to a good body and a sound mind The hour for birth control has struck!"

A middle-aged legislator, with a thick tongue, wabbling knees, and a half-filled bottle, shouted from near the center of the hall, "Shend the morhons an' idgiots shtrait to hell! They're here in violashun of nacher's laws enyhow! They raishe kids sho much fashter 'an they do cotton an' corn—"

While the sergeant-at-arms was aiding the intoxicated member to a cloak-room, and the Speaker of the House was wielding his gavel for order, Representative Sam Sowell, crude as Adam and ignorant as a country bumpkin, lost his false teeth yelling to the Speaker for the right to be heard in opposition to the sterilization measure.

Back at home, Sam Sowell had walked the streets and talked politics till the people sent him to the legislature to get rid of him. He boasted of the fact that he had never owned a necktie or a collar button in his life, which gained for him a considerable following and many votes from certain farmers on the lower levels of prosperity. Hollow-cheeked, slouchy, and ludicrous beyond description, he had furnished jokes for others and been joked at all his life.

In opposition to the birth-control measure, he ranted, roared, paced the aisles, and tossed his long arms in dramatic disdain, closing his speech with the powerful indictment: "It's class legislation—puttin' too much power in the hands of the doctors! They'll sterilize everybody but themselves!"

The roll was called; the bill was killed; the Speaker's gavel fell; and the House adjourned for the day.

During the scrimmage of three heated hours on the legislative firing line, Harold Hobson had borne witness to the beginnings of a terrific conflict between the legions of emotional charity and the believers in scientific social control that would not be fought out to a decisive finish for at least another half century. He returned to college with the deep conviction that the number of unbidden guests knocking on the door of life in human shape must be reduced. Only those emotionally blind or religiously biased would welcome every chance newcomer to this planet regardless of his physical and mental estate.

W H I T E S C O U R G E

ranch country, and sticking close to the cotton fields of Comal, Hays, and Caldwell counties. Coming through the ports of Laredo, Eagle Pass, and Brownsville, the Mexicans had concentrated at San Antonio, and that city, like the small end of a funnel, poured them out into the cotton fields to the northeast with such speed that by 1920, the greatest density of rural Mexican population in Texas was not along the Rio Grande border but in Caldwell County in sight of the dome of the state capitol.

Before the incoming hosts of Mexicans, Caldwell County's three basic rural institutions—the home, the church, and the school—fell like a trio of staggering tenpins at the end of a bowling race. White tenants could not compete with cheap Mexican labor. Prosperous owners moved to town, leaving the menial farm work for Mexicans to do. Rural dwelling, orchards, and yard fences went to wreck; deserted country church houses made excellent hay barns and tool sheds for absentee landlords; and the large rural schools packed with happy white children dwindled into sickly institutions for a few indifferent Mexican *muchachos*, as a wilderness of rag-weeds and cockleburs grew on the school grounds most of the year.

The Mexicans did not hit the interior cotton lands with the impact of a hurricane, but seeped in silently and undermined the rural social structures like termites eating out the sills of a wooden house.

Before the Mexicans came, Caldwell County was a financial asset to the state treasury. By 1912, however, it was in the pauper class, receiving more from the treasury than its total tax payments to the state. By 1970 or there-a-bouts, our languid historians may wake up and discover that one of the most terrible chapters in all the annals of Texas was enacted by the apathetic, cotton-field Mexicans during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Harold and his mother arrived at Austin on a crisp Sunday morning in December and were received at the home of Anthony Tigert, a life-long friend of the Hobson's, a large man of sixty-five, with a grayish beard and a white vest. He was a deacon in the church, a plantation owner, and a Mexican slave-driver more heartless than Milton Lagrone at his worst.

At the church service, Mrs. Hobson and Harold sat in the Tigert pew while Deacon Tigert directed the collection boxes

Dallas Morning News Article,
March 15, 1934.

This Depression Piker Alongside One 30 Years Off

So Says Dean in Warn- ing Against Increase of "Human Scrubs"

Unless steps are taken soon to prevent it, a catastrophe is due thirty years from now that will make the economic depression of the last few years seem unimportant, Dean Everett E. Davis of the North Texas Agricultural College declared Wednesday, speaking to Dallas Rotarians at the Baker Hotel.

This debacle, Dean Davis said, will result from the rapid increase of human scrubs and runts, the children and grandchildren of hundreds of persons who are now being cared for through charity. Such unfit persons, he said, were once swept away by epidemics. Today they are kept alive by charity that is allowing them to multiply at a very rapid rate.

Dean Davis described a family that he visited in 1903, which was receiving charity in a small town in which he lived. At that time there were five persons in the family. Today, he said, there are twenty-three members of the same family which the Government is required to support.

"Society can not continue violating biological principles and survive," Dean Davis declared.

Although charity has been dispensed in a commendable way, he said, more intelligence is needed and less emotion.

If he were reshaping the program of education, he said, he would add to the curriculum a course interpreting biological rules and applying them to the improvement of the race. Another addition he would make would be a course in common, every day honesty.

The program on which Dean Davis spoke was presented by the Arlington Rotary Club. Joe Thannisch presided. The sixty-five-piece band of the North Texas Agricultural College, directed by Col. Earl D. Irons, played. A Dallas student, Gerald Bell, sang with the band.

Fears Influx Of Poor Class

College Dean Says Rural Life of Southwest Threatened.

Special to The News.

FOET WORTH, Texas, Aug. 27.

The rural population in the Southwest is threatened with becoming an inferior grade of humanity with the dumping here of "scrub labor" from all over the United States which lives the shiftless life of farm hands, Dean E. E. Davis, Junior College of Agriculture, Arlington, declared before the local Rotary Club.

"You may criticize me for saying this," Mr. Davis declared, "especially as I don't offer a remedial proposition, but educators and sociologists over the country have predicted a 'rurt' population in rural sections because of the process of selection taking away the best on the farms."

Trainloads of poorly clad persons, underfed children and illiterate families are virtually "dumped" into cotton-picking areas of West Texas especially, to eke out a living, the speaker asserted. He pointed out that the Western farmer has to show much more initiative than the farmer of the South and Southwest.

"Are the cotton stalk and the cotton boll proving the magnet to draw a population that will make the tenantry of Europe appear Kings in comparison?" he inquired.

Speaker Calls Cotton Fields Slum of South

Low Living Standards, Illiteracy and Large Families Follow Crop

Calling the cotton fields "the open air slums of the South," Dean E. E. Davis of North Texas Agricultural College said Monday that the most serious rural problem in the South is that of the impoverished tribes of marginal humanity—black, white and Mexican—subsisting on cotton. Speaking before the Dallas Agricultural Club at the Hotel Adolphus, Dean Davis presented maps showing that illiteracy, high birth rates and low standards of living are closely connected in Texas with the production

Dallas Morning News Article,
February 5, 1935

of cotton.

"Poverty and ignorance have always clung to the cotton stalk like iron filings to a magnet," Dean Davis said. "Too much of America's worthless human silt has filtered into the Cotton Belt. Cotton culture is simple, an elemental means of subsistence for that portion of the South's rural proletariat composed of lowly blacks, peonized Mexicans and moronic whites numbering into several millions.

The plight of the peon in Mexico at the time of the Spanish Conquest and that of the cotton field Mexican in the fourteenth century feudalism existing in South Texas today are about the same, the speaker pointed out. He cited numerous personal observations of the impoverished condition of cotton farmers in Texas, raising large families of underprivileged children merely because they represented "more cotton pickers."

Easily obtained supplies of food, as in East Texas, and the low standards of living that accompany cotton production in West Texas result in large families, large school populations and counties that receive more money from the State Government than they pay in taxes, it was pointed out. Whereas Dallas County has 196 school children per 1,000 population and Tarrant County 194, nineteen counties have 300 students per 1,000 and seventeen of them are in East Texas.